

Outline-History of
LATIN AMERICA

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Outline - History of LATIN AMERICA

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references at the end of each chapter and the longer additional list of references at the end of the volume, present an excellent selection of titles in English to which the reader may go for wider study. The quick reference table to standard textbooks tells at a glance where Outline topics are discussed in the various textbooks. The maps have been chosen with care and will prove most useful.

James A. Robertson

Annapolis
March, 1939.

PREFACE

It is the aim of the authors of this volume to provide a summary outline of the essential facts in the historical and cultural development of the Latin American countries from their beginnings to the present. They have tried to be brief, concise, and systematic in their treatment of the subject matter and to avoid the prolixity of the usual textbook. Thus, the student will have at hand an aid for the rapid review of a general course in Latin American history and at the same time a guide to the essential facts of the subject.

At the end of each chapter there is a list of selected references written in the English language. These have been chosen largely from recent works which are likely to be available. A selected general bibliography of works not previously cited is to be noted at the end of the book. This is presented for students who desire to obtain further information on various topics.

The authors have divided the labor of writing, the first-named author having written chapters I through XIII and the second collaborator, the remaining chapters. However, mutual consultation has been frequent, and each writer has advised and made suggestions to the other on important problems.

The maps included in the book have been selected from a set of several hundred prepared for a projected *Atlas of Latin American History* compiled by the first-named collaborator. Students and teachers who wish to use desk outline map studies in connection with Latin American history are referred to the thirty-two *Wilgus Directed History Problems and Map Projects for Hispanic American History* published by the A. J. Nystrom Company, Chicago, Illinois.

It is hoped that this volume will not only serve students in colleges and universities who are studying Latin American

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PART ONE

COLONIAL
LATIN AMERICA

A view of the panorama of Latin American history impresses one with the fact that for more than three hundred years (some eleven generations) the peoples of Latin America were under paternalistic and repressive forms of control by the mother countries of Spain and Portugal, which discouraged political self-government, stifled individual economic initiative, and suppressed intellectual ambition. Yet, throughout these ages the colonists existed in much the same manner as did the people in Europe of their day, and they engaged in the art of living with the same zest as we do at present. They had the same desires and sorrows as colonists everywhere in their age, but in many instances they were more handicapped by nature and natives, and by disease and disaster. Certainly, Europeans at home had to face no such formidable environmental factors as did these sturdy pioneers of western civilization. Everywhere and always they seem to have given their lives and their worldly resources for their king and their pope with patriotic and religious zeal worthy of the greatest cause. Praise for these intrepid individualists cannot be too great, for they were the founders of the Spanish and Portuguese empires in the strange, remote, and dangerous lands of America.

CHAPTER ONE

THE AMERICAN BACKGROUND

The Extent of Latin America. Latin America includes Mexico, the six states of Central America (Guatemala, Honduras, Nicaragua, El Salvador, Costa Rica, and Panama), the West Indian islands of Cuba, Puerto Rico, Haiti or Hispaniola, and the ten states of South America (Venezuela, Colombia, Ecuador, Peru, Bolivia, Chile, Paraguay, Uruguay, Argentina, and Brazil). This comprises a total area of about eight and one-half million square miles, or about two and one-half times the area of Europe. It is a distance of some 7,000 miles from the northern tip of Mexico to the southern extremity of South America, which is nearly as far as the distance from London to Capetown, South Africa. Extending the length of Latin America and forming its geographical backbone is one continuous chain of mountains in which earthquakes are frequent and volcanic eruptions have occurred.

Mexico. Mexico has a total area of about 767,000 square miles, which makes it slightly smaller than Greenland, or about one-fourth the size of the United States. The Tropic of Cancer divides it about equally north and south. Much of Mexico is a lofty plateau with mountains on the eastern and western sides of the country. A narrow coastal plain on the west and a wide coastal plain on the east border the Pacific Ocean and the Gulf of Mexico, respectively. In the high plateau of south central Mexico lies the "Valley of Mexico," called by the natives *Anáhuac*, or the "Country by the Waters," because of the many lakes in the region. Here, at about 7,500 feet above sea level, is located Mexico City, with a mean annual temperature of about 62 degrees, which is about that of San

Francisco, California. The plateau region is generally temperate in climate, while the temperature in the mountains is cold and that along the sea coast is hot. Mexico has few rivers, the longest being the Río Grande, which runs along its northern boundary. The harbors are few, and no first-class natural harbors exist. Regions of heaviest rainfall are in the southern and eastern portions of the country. Agricultural products

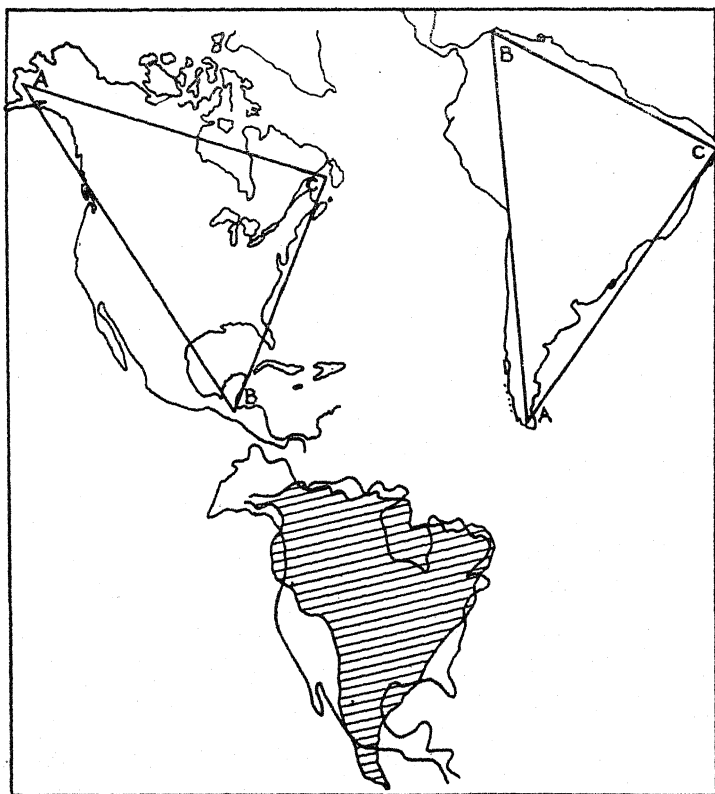


Fig. 2. Comparative size of North and South America.

are those which grow in both temperate and tropical climates, and mineral products are varied and abundant, with silver and petroleum ranking high in importance.

Central America. The six Central American states embrace an area of some 200,000 square miles, or about twice the

area of the state of Colorado. Guatemala is roughly the size of Virginia; Honduras is about the size of Mississippi; Nica-

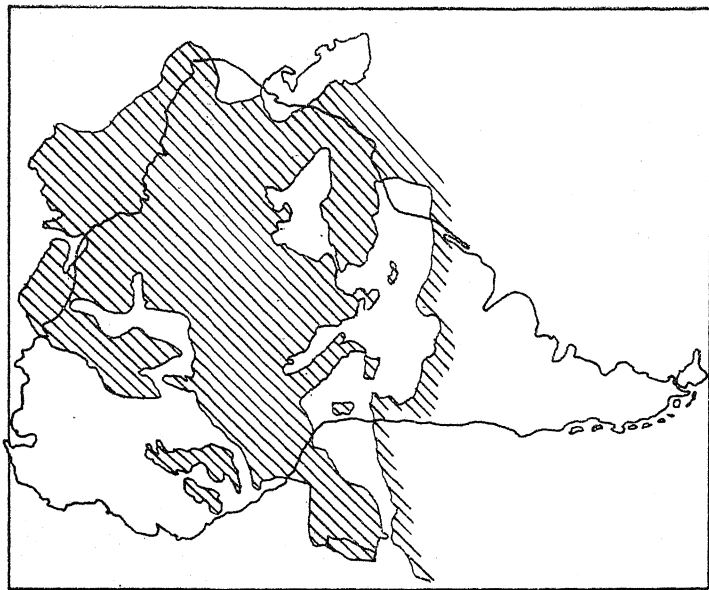


Fig. 4. Comparative areas of South America and Europe.

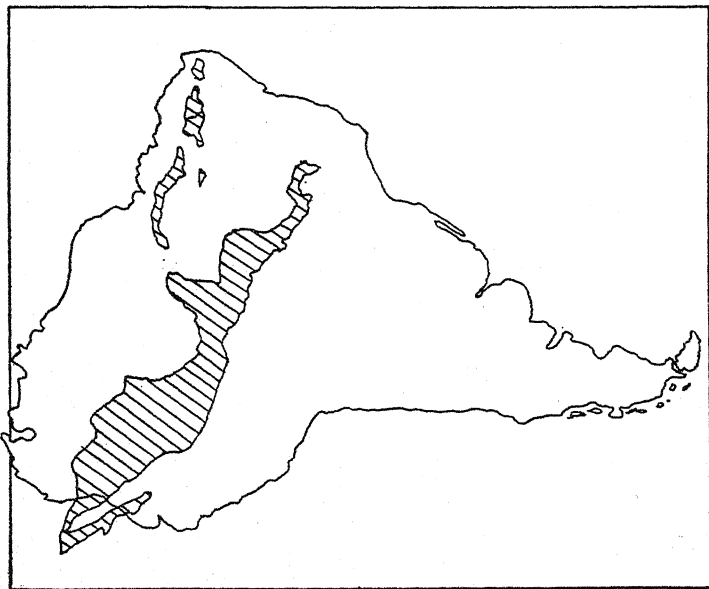


Fig. 3. Comparative areas of Northern and Southern Latin America.

ragua is about the size of New York; El Salvador is slightly larger than Massachusetts; Costa Rica is a little more than twice the size of Maryland; and Panama is about the size of Maine. The colony of British Honduras is not included in Latin America. The states consist largely of mountains, plateaus, valleys, and coastal plains. The most important water system in Central America (except the Panama Canal) is that formed by Lake Nicaragua, which is about twice the area of Great Salt Lake in Utah, and the San Juan River. There are no first-class harbors in Central America. As in Mexico, there are temperate, tropical, and cold regions, with the temperate plateaus most densely inhabited. The yearly rainfall is heavy. Agricultural products which flourish in both temperate and tropical areas are produced. Minerals are widely distributed but little exploited.

The West Indies

CUBA. Cuba is the largest of the Caribbean islands, being about 730 miles long. It contains some 42,000 square miles, which makes it a little larger than Bulgaria and about the size of Pennsylvania. It is a country of mountains, plains, and low-lying lakes with small unimportant rivers and a few fair harbors. The climate is tempered by the trade winds, and the rainy season extends from May to October. Hurricanes occur frequently. Most tropical and temperate products can be raised in Cuba. There are few minerals.

HAITI. Haiti lies in the western portion of the island of Hispaniola (once called Española, and more recently called simply Haiti or Santo Domingo), which contains some 29,000 square miles, making it somewhat smaller than Scotland, or about the size of South Carolina. Haiti itself contains some 10,000 square miles, which makes it about the size of Vermont. It is a mountainous country, which fact somewhat tempers its climate. The rainfall is abundant with the rainy season occurring in the summer months. The products are largely those which are suitable to a tropical climate, and minerals are few. There are no harbors which can be rated as first-class.

DOMINICAN REPUBLIC. The Dominican Republic in the eastern two-thirds of the island of Hispaniola has an area of

about 19,000 square miles, which makes it about the size of New Hampshire and Vermont combined. Like Haiti it is mountainous, with a similar climate and similar products. It also has no first-class harbors.

PUERTO RICO. Puerto Rico is the easternmost island of the Greater Antilles and has an area of about 3,500 square miles, which is more than three times that of Rhode Island. The country is mountainous with short rivers and several harbors. It has a mild climate and abundant rainfall.

South America. The continent of South America is some 4,600 miles from north to south and some 3,000 miles in its extent from east to west. The total area of the continent is about 7,500,000 square miles, which is about 1,000,000 square miles smaller than North America. The greatest bulk of South America lies in the torrid zone, although the Tropic of Capricorn divides it nearly equally north and south. Besides the ten Latin American republics on the continent there are three European colonies: British, Dutch, and French Guianas, roughly equal in area to Minnesota, Wisconsin, and Maine, respectively. Argentina is about equal in size to the eleven Pacific and Mountain states of the United States; Bolivia is about twice the size of Texas; Brazil is about the size of the United States with Alaska; Chile is somewhat larger than the eight south Atlantic states; Colombia is about the area of Washington, Oregon, California, and Arizona; Ecuador is nearly as large as New Mexico; Paraguay is slightly larger than New Mexico; Peru is about the size of Texas, Arizona, Utah, and Nevada; Uruguay is a little larger than North Dakota; and Venezuela is about the area of Texas, Arkansas, and Louisiana.

About one-sixteenth of the area of South America lies at an elevation of 10,000 feet or above. The backbone of the continent is the great Andean range, running from Colombia to the southern tip of Tierra del Fuego. It varies in width from 100 to 400 miles, with the highest peak, Aconcagua, in Argentina, at 23,000 feet, with nearly a score of peaks above 15,000 feet, and with a broad, bleak plateau in Bolivia. Glaciers are numerous, and earthquakes shake the whole region. Two

older, but lower, mountain regions are found on the continent, the Brazilian Highlands and the Guiana Highlands. About three-fifths of the continent may be classed as plain, with elevations not exceeding 1,000 feet. Coastal plains extend around the edge of the continent except in southern Chile and

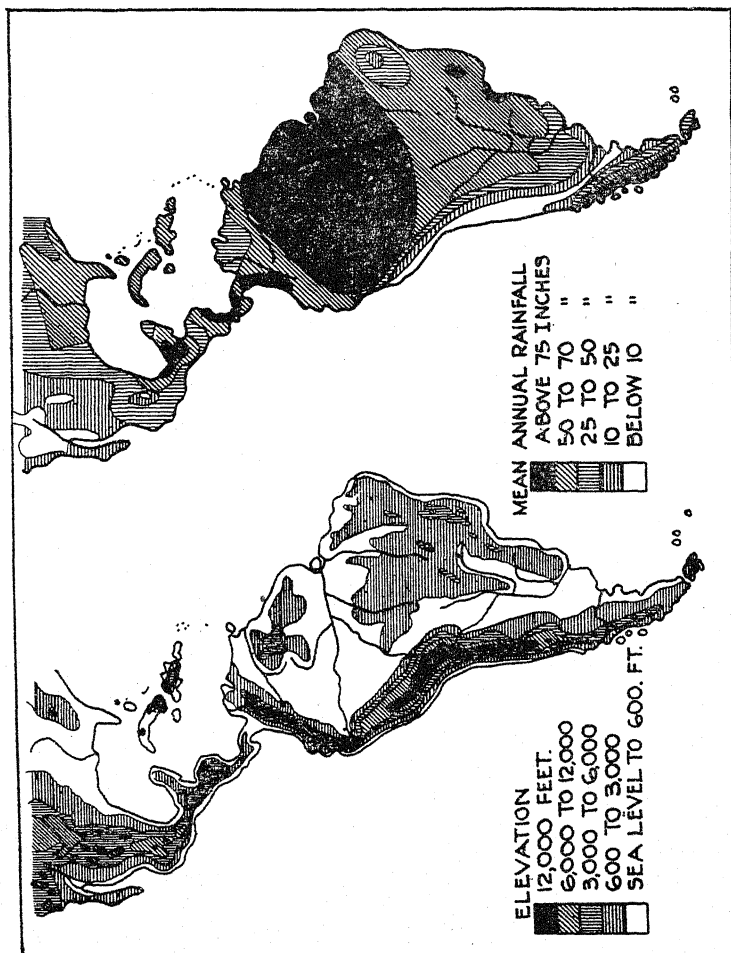


Fig. 5. Elevation and rainfall maps of Latin America.

in a few scattered localities. In Argentina the plain broadens into the *pampas* and surrounding areas; in Brazil the large central plains are called the *selvas*; and in Venezuela the plains are called the *llanos*.

Each of these regions is watered by a great river system: in Argentina it is called the Plata system composed of the Uruguay, Paraná, Salado, and other rivers; in Brazil it is the Amazon River and its many tributaries; and in Venezuela it is the Orinoco River and its tributaries. All other South American rivers are dwarfed by these three great systems. High in the Bolivian Andes lies the greatest lake on the continent, called Lake Titicaca. It lies at an elevation of nearly 13,000 feet, and it is about the size of Lake Nicaragua. The best harbors on the continent are on the Atlantic side, with that of Rio de Janeiro in Brazil ranking foremost.

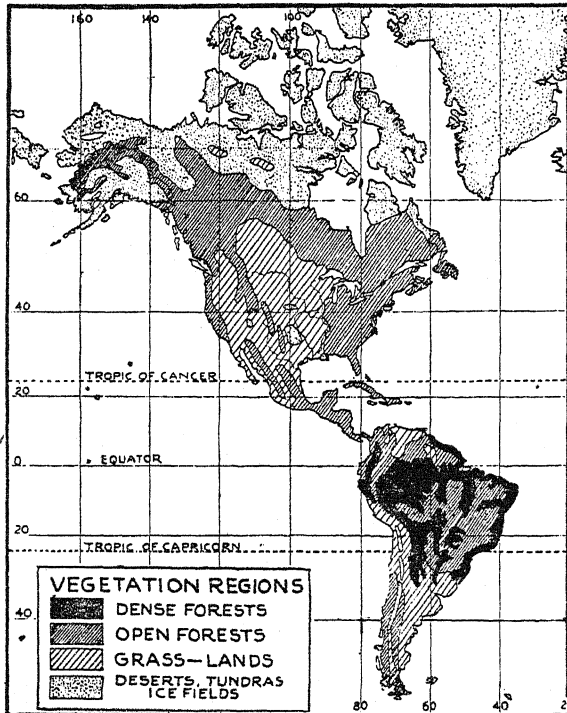


Fig. 6. Latin America: Vegetation. (Reproduced with permission from *The New World Atlas and Gazetteer* published by P. F. Collier and Sons Company, New York, 1921.)

About two-thirds of South America is in the torrid zone, but the great altitude tempers much of this area. In the mid-section of the Pacific coast lies a great desert, while other dry

regions are found in northwest Argentina and in southern and western Argentina. The heaviest rainfall occurs in the Amazon Basin and in southern Chile. Temperatures in South America vary so widely that any agricultural product found elsewhere may be grown there. Mineral products are varied and numerous, but coal has not been found in sufficient quantities for local needs.

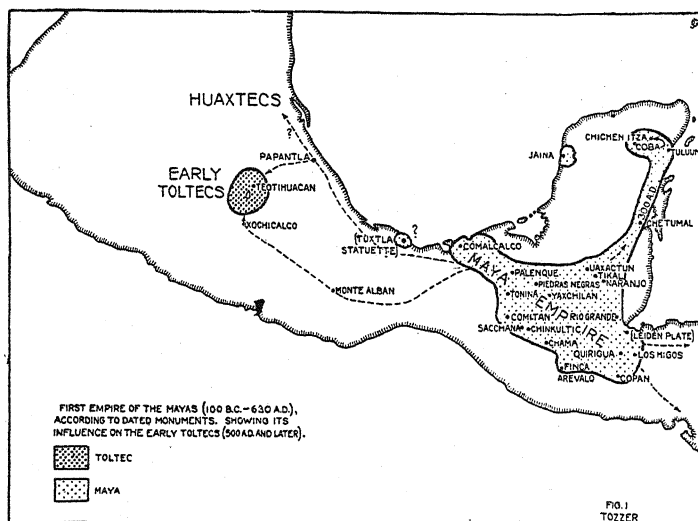
THE NATIVE INHABITANTS

General Extent of Native Cultures. When the Europeans arrived in this hemisphere they found the natives in varying stages of civilization. The Mayas in Mexico and Central America had probably attained the greatest degree of culture. The next in line were the Aztecs of Mexico and their predecessors, and the Incas of Peru and their predecessors. Diminishing degrees of civilization were represented by the Chibchas in northern South America and by the Pueblo Indians of southwestern United States. Many other scattered native groups, however, were struggling up the ladder of civilization.

Theories of Native Origin. The question of the origin of the American natives has for centuries furnished a topic for popular and scientific discussion. It is now believed that the American Indian originated in Asia and migrated to this continent by way of the Bering Strait and the Aleutian Islands. Among the theories of native origin which have been suggested, are the Indigenous theory, the Lost Ten Tribes of Israel theory, the Malay-Polynesian theory, the Japanese-Chinese theory, the Phoenician theory, the Egyptian theory, the Mormon theory, the Lost Atlantis theory, the Lost Continent of Mu (or Lemuria) theory, the Ayar theory, the African theory, and many others.

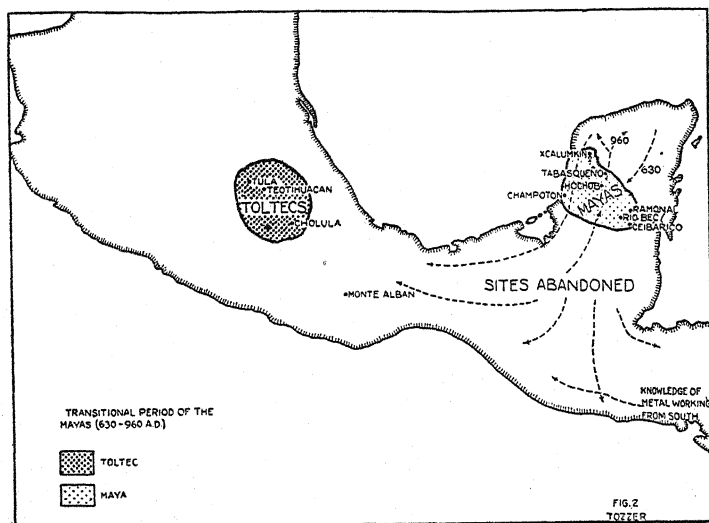
The Mayas. In the first millennium B C these Indians, or their predecessors, inhabited parts of Mexico and Central America. It seems that a group of these peoples congregated in Guatemala about the beginning of the Christian era, and from there spread into Yucatan, where their civilization reached its greatest height about 500 A D. Living in large cities they built great pyramids and temples, worshiped many

gods, practiced agriculture and various manufacturing pursuits, and were ruled over by hereditary chiefs. They de-



Courtesy of the Museum of Natural History.

Fig. 7. The First Empire of the Mayas. Shown here by dated monuments and a suggestion of the Maya influence on the early Toltecs.



Courtesy of the Museum of Natural History.

Fig. 8. The transitional period of the Mayas. Showing the abandonment of many of the First Empire sites with movements northward and southward. (Reprinted from the *Bulletin of the Pan American Union*, January, 1928.)

veloped an alphabet, which has as yet not been read and interpreted fully, and they wrote many books, of which only a few exist today. They developed a surprisingly accurate calendar and seem to have understood certain facts concerning astronomy. When the Spanish conquerors arrived in the region, they found only ruined cities, and the natives seemed to know nothing of their ancestors. The mystery of the Mayas is still unsolved.

The Aztecs and Their Predecessors. About the sixth century A.D. there came into the Valley of Mexico a group of Indians known as the Toltecs, who may have been related to the Mayas. They built cities, temples, and pyramids, practiced agriculture, developed picture writing and a calendar, worshiped many gods, and practiced human sacrifice. About the tenth or eleventh century the Chichimec peoples conquered the Toltecs in the Valley of Mexico and adopted their civilization. Finally, probably in the twelfth century, the Aztecs, coming from the north, conquered the Valley and began to extend their sway over the other peoples of Mexico. A great centralized confederation was established with an emperor; one of the emperors, Montezuma II, ruled from 1503 until he was conquered by the Spaniards. The Aztec capital, Tenochtitlán, stood on an island in the middle of Lake Texcoco within the area now occupied by Mexico City. The Aztecs worshiped many gods and goddesses and practiced human sacrifice in the temples on the tops of their pyramids. Slavery also was practiced. Agriculture and mining were important occupations, weaving and the making of gold and silver objects were developed to a high degree; taxes were collected; and trade was engaged in throughout the confederation. The Aztecs spoke one language, recorded their thoughts in picture writings, developed a highly effective calendar, and enjoyed the dance, drama, and a variety of athletic activities. Their civilization astonished the Spaniards.

The Incas and Their Predecessors. The so-called "Pre-Incas" may have developed an empire in the vicinity of Lake Titicaca as early as 400 A.D. By 900 A.D., however, they had declined after having attained a high degree of civilization expressed in great fortifications and other build-

They were ruled by a *Sapa Inca* (chief). One of their chiefs, Atahualpa, was conquered by the Spaniards. The Incas worshiped a number of deities and seem to have practiced human sacrifice to some extent. They did not construct temples like the Aztecs, but they built palaces. Their society was classified and effectively organized for the service of the state. Agriculture was practiced and the use of irrigation, fertilizers, and terraces enabled a large number of people to be supported by the land. Mining was widely engaged in, as was the manufacturing of textiles, pottery, and gold and silver objects. Rapid communication by highways, footpaths, and bridges was possible. The Incas embalmed their dead. They kept records by means of cords called the *Quipus*, but they had no means of writing like the Mayas or Aztecs. Nevertheless, in spite of this fact, the history of this people is fairly well known.

The Chibchas. In the temperate uplands of present-day Colombia in the vicinity of Bogotá lived a group of Indians contemporary with the Incas. These were the Chibchas, who, when conquered by the Spaniards, were emerging into a higher state of civilization than were the surrounding natives. They practiced agriculture and mined salt, gold, and emeralds. They had a medium of exchange, manufactured textiles and pottery, and carried on a well regulated trade. They worshiped many gods, especially spiders; they sacrificed humans and animals to their deities, and built temples. At the head of the government were two rulers called the *Zipa* and the *Zaque*, both of whom the Spaniards conquered. About the person of one of these rulers probably grew up the story of El Dorado.

Other Indian Groups. Among other Indian tribes whom the early Spanish or Portuguese conquerors encountered were the Moundbuilders and Pueblo Indians of the United States, the Caribs and Arawaks of the West Indies and northern South America, the Tupí-Guaraní Indians of Brazil and Paraguay, the Patagonian Indians of Argentina, and the warlike Araucanians of Chile. These groups were in varying stages of civilization, some being cannibals and many being hardy

and vigorous fighters. Despite this, however, most of the natives met with were conquered by fighting, fear, or faith, for churchmen accompanied most of the conquistadores.

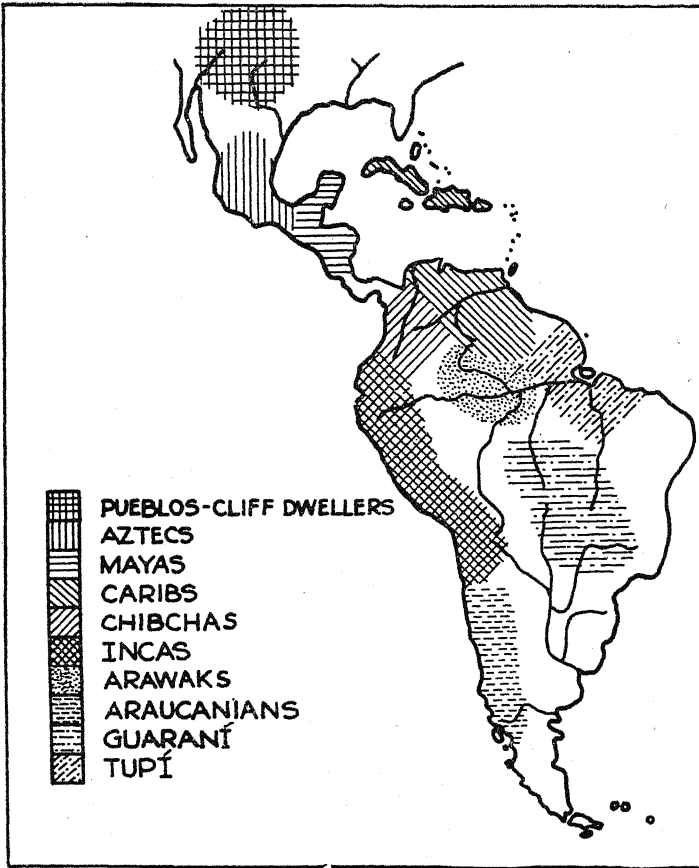


Fig. 10. The chief native cultures in Latin America about 1500.

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CHAPTER TWO

SPAIN AND PORTUGAL IN THE AGE OF DISCOVERY

IBERIAN GEOGRAPHY

Iberian geography has many of the characteristics of Latin American geography, with high mountains, bleak plateaus, semitropical lowlands, moist and dry areas, fair harbors, and navigable rivers. The area of the peninsula is some 225,000 square miles, or about the size of Texas. Spain proper has an area of about 190,000 square miles, which makes it about the size of New England, New York, and New Jersey, or about half the area of Venezuela. Portugal has an area which is about equal to that of the state of Indiana and smaller than that of Cuba. Yet these two small countries of Iberia together conquered and claimed more territory than any other powers in history prior to the twentieth century.

The peninsula is entirely surrounded by water except where it is connected to France by the rugged Pyrenees. Central Iberia is a high plateau with a bleak winter climate, while parts of the south are semitropical in character. The rainfall is heavy in the northwest and light in parts of the east and south, where irrigation must be practiced for the production of crops. The scattered mountain areas affect the climate considerably. Valleys are formed by the five largest rivers, the Tagus, the Duero, the Guadiana, and the Guadalquivir flowing into the Atlantic Ocean, and the Ebro flowing into the Mediterranean Sea. There are harbors along the rivers as well as along the sea coast. Hence, through the centuries Portugal has faced the Atlantic, and Spain has faced the Mediterranean.

The mountainous topography of Spain, more than that of less mountainous Portugal, has tended to divide the inhabitants into small groups so that Spain has been harder to conquer by outsiders and likewise more difficult to unite from

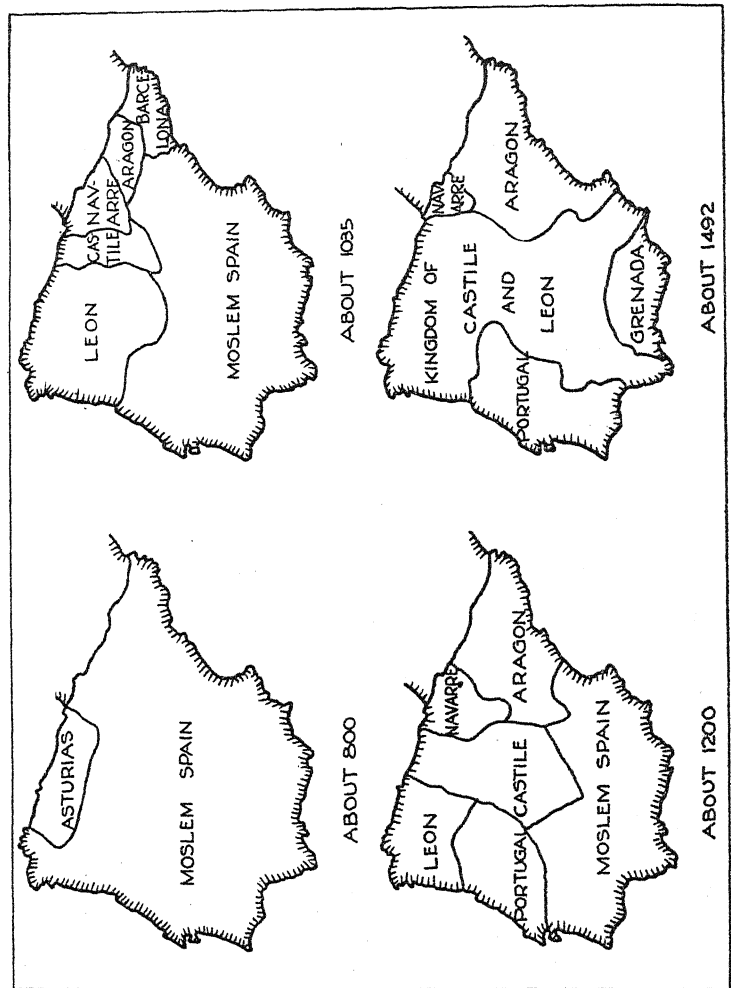


Fig. 11. Political development of the Iberian Peninsula.

the inside than Portugal. Local patriotism and individualism early developed in Spain as a result of the varied nature of the surface of the country, and people in isolated communities acquired distinct characteristics of language, thought, and

customs In consequence, Spain became a region of separately developed principalities or kingdoms, while Portugal was achieving political unity.

IBERIAN HISTORY

The Iberian Peninsula has witnessed the invasion of many peoples, and the resultant racial mixture has produced composites which can best be described as the "Spanish character" and the "Portuguese character."

Invaders. Little is known of the original inhabitants of the peninsula. About 1100 B C. the Phoenicians entered the region and remained in partial control until about 200 B C, if the Carthaginian period is counted. At this time also, Greek colonies were established in the peninsula, while in the north the Celts probably entered the country.

The next invaders were the Romans, who occupied the territory from about 200 B C. to the fifth century A D. Part of the time the region was called Hispania. The country was unified; cities were founded; Roman law and customs were established; and Christianity was introduced.

In the fifth century the Vandals, the Suivians, and finally the Visigoths over-ran Hispania (except for a region in the north called Asturias) so that by 623 the country was under "Barbarian" rule, which modified the Roman society and institutions but did not overthrow the influence of Roman law.

Into the midst of this Visigothic state came the highly civilized Moslems, first in 710. The next year they began the conquest of the peninsula, which by 718 they had over-run except for Asturias. By the tenth century their culture was well established. They introduced a new social order, founded schools, educated women, encouraged the arts, modified architecture, improved agriculture, stimulated industry, and in general modified the customs and habits of the Iberians. The Mohammedan religion became widespread in the country, although some religious toleration was practiced.

Rise of Portugal. Portugal attained its present boundaries some two hundred years before the Spanish portion of the peninsula. The expulsion of the Moslem began in the north-

west in the eleventh century and was completed about 1250, chiefly through the activities of Sancho I and II and Affonso II and III. National consolidation was brought about under Diniz, Affonso IV, Pedro I, and Ferdinand so that under John "The Great" of the House of Aviz, who ruled from 1385 to 1433, national political unity was consummated. In the following years the kings' powers were strengthened and the government became more centralized. At the same time society was "purified," and in 1496 the Jews were expelled from the country.

Rise of Spain. The Spanish reconquest began in 718, when Pelayo in Asturias defeated the Moslem. Gradually the Christian fighters extended their conquests, until by 910 the kingdoms of León and Navarre and the County of Barcelona had been founded. Then León and Castilla united and Aragón appeared. By the middle of the twelfth century about half of the peninsula had been reconquered from the Moslem. In 1236 Córdoba was taken from the invaders, and in 1248 Seville was captured. By 1252 the reconquered territory included about two-thirds of the peninsula, and by 1491 all of present-day Spain, except the region about the city of Granada, had been recaptured. Finally, in 1492 Ferdinand and Isabella seized this region and the present boundaries of Spain were reached.

As the Reconquest proceeded, the numerous Christian states which were organized began to consolidate their political and economic life under ruling noble families. This resulted in civil struggles within their boundaries and in warfare with the neighboring kingdoms. Local jealousies thus prevented effective national cooperation, and it became apparent that a strong centralizing force would be necessary to unify the many Spanish kingdoms and principalities. This centralizing force appeared in the persons of Ferdinand of Aragón and Isabella of Castilla, who, fortunately for the future of Spain, were married in 1469, thus uniting two of the chief kingdoms of the peninsula. Into this union were gradually forced most of the other political units. With political consolidation came social and economic consolidation, and in 1492 the Jews were expelled from Spain. The Inquisition

was reorganized as a political as well as a religious instrument. Soon the Catholic Kings were able to establish internal peace and order.

EARLY PORTUGUESE EXPANSION

Because Portugal was unified before Spain, the government and people were ready at an earlier date than in Spain for exploration and conquest overseas. In the fourteenth

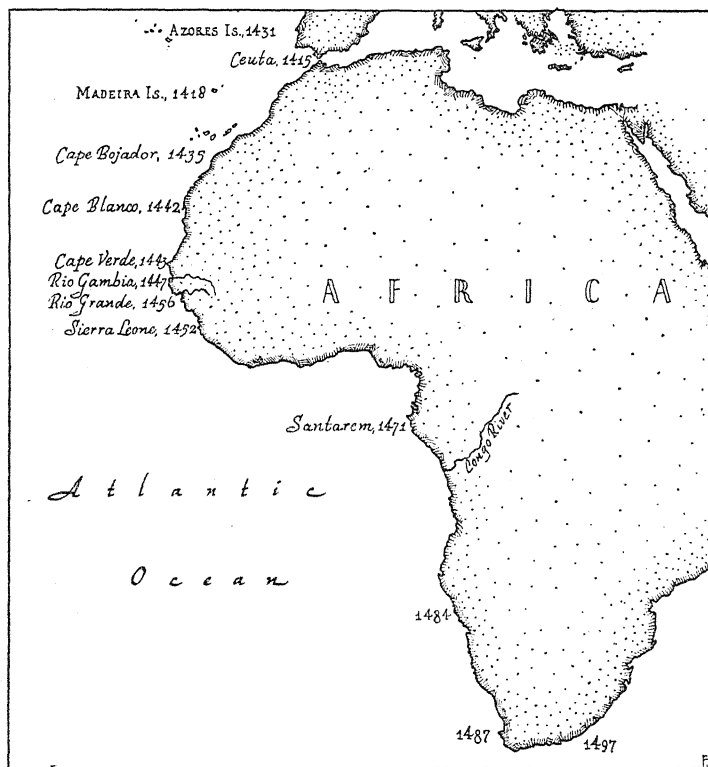


Fig. 12. Portuguese explorations along the coast of Africa. Based on Chávez Orozco: *Historia de México*, II, 18.

century the Canary Islands were discovered, and in 1415 Ceuta on the north coast of Africa was captured. There, the son of John "The Great," known to history as Prince Henry the Navigator, became interested in searching for the golden kingdom of Timbuktu and for the fabled kingdom of Prester John, a Christian ruler supposedly surrounded by pagans

somewhere in Africa. In 1419 Prince Henry began to send out ships along the west coast of Africa. By 1430 the Azores were discovered; by 1434 Cape Bojador was reached; and by 1445 the Cape Verde Islands were reached. By 1448 a colony was established at Agadir. By 1460, when Prince Henry died, Portuguese discoveries had extended as far south as 6 to 8 degrees north latitude.

At this point a new incentive arose to give impetus to African discoveries, for the Turks at the eastern end of the Mediterranean, with the capture of Constantinople in 1453, had begun the seizure of trade routes to the East. In 1462 the great bend of Africa was found, and finally in 1486 Bartholomeu Dias discovered the Cape of Good Hope. In 1497 and 1498 Vasco da Gama went around Africa to India. The Portuguese had thus acquired their own private trade route to the East. And it was along this route that Pedro Alvares Cabral was sailing in 1500, when he found himself on the coast of Brazil in America.

EARLY SPANISH EXPANSION

Because Spain faced the Mediterranean Sea rather than the Atlantic Ocean like Portugal, her interests were early turned eastward. In the fourteenth century a company of Catalán adventurers established the Duchy of Athens, which was maintained from 1326 to 1388. In 1349 Pedro IV of Aragón took over the island of Majorca, and shortly afterward he took Minorca. Enrique III of Castilla sent embassies to the Sultan of Babylon and to Tamerlane (1402). He sought the kingdom of Prester John in the East, where it was often rumored to be located. Thus Spanish interest in the East was early manifest. In 1402 the Spaniards began the conquest to take the Canary Islands from the Portuguese, and in 1480 Ferdinand and Isabella took possession of the Grand Canary Island, which they soon colonized. The experience gained in occupying and governing this latter territory served as a training school for the later occupation and administration of the Spanish American colonies.

**EUROPEAN CONDITIONS AFFECTING SPAIN
AND PORTUGAL**

Trade with the East. Spain and Portugal attained unity in the Age of the Renaissance, which had been ushered in partly as the result of the Christian Crusades against the Mohammedans who expanded out of Arabia. As a result of the Crusades many Eastern products and ideas were introduced into Europe, and a desire arose to travel in the Orient in emulation of the Polos and others and to trade with the East. Italy, in the path of the Crusaders, was prepared to take advantage of this demand for Eastern products, and she sent her merchants to the cities at the eastern end of the Mediterranean to purchase Oriental goods brought there by the merchants of Asia, and to sell European goods. The western termini of the three chief routes were Constantinople, Antioch, and Alexandria. But in 1453 the Turks seized Constantinople, and thereafter by various restrictions gradually discouraged the use of these routes by European merchants. Therefore, Italy and Portugal became interested in finding a new route to the East. In this Portugal was successful by going around Africa, but Italy failed, and many of her adventurous citizens went to England, France, Spain, and Portugal, where they aided these countries in their exploring activities.

Geographical Knowledge. When the "Dark Ages" in Europe came to an end with the Renaissance, not all of the superstitious beliefs regarding the earth and its inhabitants vanished. Many people still believed that the earth was flat, that it was surrounded by water or by fire, and that the seas were full of great, horrible monsters. Although the Arabic, Greek, and Roman thinkers had believed that the earth was a sphere, no one had conceived of the earth as being as large as it actually is. Hence some scientists postulated that by sailing westward one could reach the East. The idea that a continent intervened was almost unthought of even though reports concerning such land occasionally circulated in Europe.

As men speculated about the earth's surface they began to draw maps on which they placed islands and names con-

ceived largely from their own imaginings. These places shifted from time to time as the whims of the map makers changed. But some of these names may have represented actual discoveries in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and some authorities are of the opinion that Cuba, Jamaica, Florida, and the Atlantic seaboard of the United States and Canada were known to Europeans. However, if this knowledge existed, no one had made use of it. Even the fact that the Scandinavians had discovered and colonized certain sections of the north Atlantic coast of America from the tenth to the fourteenth centuries was unknown to the rest of Europe.

Inventions. Further knowledge regarding other parts of the world, it was soon realized, would not be forthcoming until better ships were built and more satisfactory methods of reckoning distance, location, and direction could be devised. In the fifteenth century these problems were partly solved by the use of the compass and the astrolabe and by improvements in ship construction. In these matters the Italians and Portuguese took the lead. It was not possible to estimate longitude until a Portuguese, in 1514, developed a method. In the fifteenth century the use of gunpowder spread widely, and guns and cannon were improved. The development of more rapid printing by the use of movable type made possible a wider dissemination of knowledge about scientific and geographical discoveries, thus stimulating a wider interest in contemporary events. Finally, in the sixteenth century, with the development of Mercator's projection in map drawing, charts could be made with compass sailings drawn in a straight line. Late in the fifteenth century, therefore, the time was ripe for the nations which were best prepared, to take advantage of their opportunities and to begin overseas expansion. In this activity Spain and Portugal played a prominent role.

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CHAPTER THREE

COLUMBUS AND HIS CONTEMPORARIES

By 1492 conditions in Spain and Portugal were ripe for overseas expansion, and Columbus and his contemporaries appeared on the scene at a most propitious time not only for themselves, but for Western Europe. With the discovery of America several European nations began to think of acquiring overseas colonies, and the rising state systems, as they became consolidated, began to participate in the important movement in world history known as "The Expansion of Europe."

CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS

A Great Enigma. The story of Columbus has suffered from too much narration, for gaps in our knowledge concerning him have been filled with speculation. We do not know with certainty when he was born, where he was born, what his early life was, what he looked like, whether or not he could read or write, where he first landed in America, or where he is buried.

Columbus may have been born in Genoa between 1446 and 1451. He may have received a fair education as a youth. He may have traveled by land and sea before he went to Portugal, probably in 1470, where he was attracted by the exploits of the Portuguese. There he married the daughter of one of Prince Henry's navigators, and he probably acquired the idea of sailing westward about this time. He may have then visited France and England in search of aid. Cer-

tainly he received no help from the Portuguese king, and in 1485 he went to Spain. But there he obtained no official encouragement from Ferdinand and Isabella until they had defeated the Moslem at Granada in January, 1492.

The First Voyage. With assistance from persons at court Columbus was able to sign a contract with the Catholic Kings on April 17, 1492, which made possible his first voyage. He was to be admiral, viceroy, and governor of all mainlands and islands which he might find and to have ten per cent of all net proceeds of the trade with these lands. The cost of the expedition, however, was not to be borne by the sovereigns.

On August 3, 1492, Columbus set sail for the West with a cosmopolitan crew of adventurers, some of whom had been released from prison to accompany him. The three ships, after leaving the Canary Islands, sailed steadily westward through severe storms. Finally, on October 12, they sighted what may be called today Watling Island. From there they sailed to Cuba, which they called "Juana," and then to Haiti, which they named "Española," or "Little Spain." On December 25, they founded the town of La Navidad and built a fort from the timbers of the wrecked *Santa María*.

Leaving twenty-nine men there, Columbus sailed away on January 2, 1493, and after a stormy passage, finally was forced to land on the coast of Portugal. When he told King John II of his discoveries, the ruler believed that the Admiral had reached India, which Portugal claimed. On March 15, Columbus returned to Palos, Spain, and reported to the Catholic Kings, who with Columbus seem to have believed that Asia had been reached.

The World Divided. Certain problems concerning rights to the land discovered confronted Spain and Portugal as a result of Columbus' voyage. If Columbus had reached Asia, Portuguese priority to claims had to be considered. If he had reached new lands, then claims by Spain must be made legal. The Spanish Pope, Alexander VI, was asked by the sovereigns of both countries to help settle the problem, and as a result the New World was divided between Spain and Portugal by three Bulls of Demarcation. These provided for

a north-south line in the Atlantic running 100 leagues west of the Azores (May 3 and 4, 1493), with the territory east of the line belonging to Portugal and the territory west of

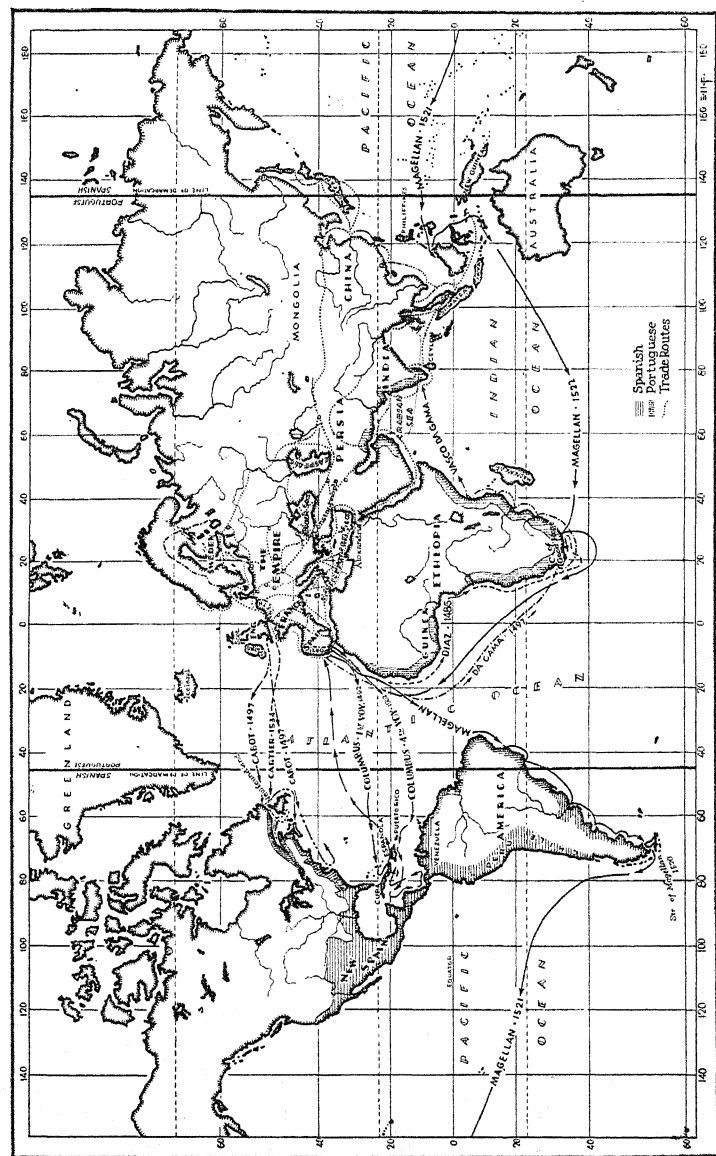


Fig. 14. The Age of Discovery.

the line belonging to Spain. When this arrangement caused Portugal to complain that she did not have sufficient sea space to go around Africa, the two countries signed the Treaty of Tordesillas (June 7, 1494) moving the line westward to 370 leagues west of the Cape Verde Islands. Though it was not known at the time, this arrangement gave to Portugal a toe hold on the eastern bulge of South America, from which Brazil later developed. The Demarcation Line was extended to the Pacific Ocean by the Treaty of Zaragoza (April 22, 1529), and this gave to Portugal the Philippine Islands, which were later exchanged with Spain for Brazilian territory west of the Demarcation Line in South America.

The Second Voyage. On September 25, 1493, Columbus sailed from Spain with seventeen ships carrying 1,500 colonists, soldiers, laborers, and missionaries (but with no women and with about one hundred stowaways). Cattle, seeds, and agricultural implements were taken for the purpose of founding a permanent colony. Columbus was captain general of the fleet and was to be the civil head of the government in the colony. On November 27, the colonists reached La Navidad but found it deserted. The next month they founded the town of Isabella some thirty miles away. There, disease, mutiny, and troubles with the Indians beset the colonists during the winter. In the spring of 1494 Columbus discovered the island of Jamaica and explored along the coast of Cuba. Meanwhile, his brother Bartolomé came to Isabella as provincial governor, but he proved a harsh ruler. Finding fierce Indians and little gold, the colonists spent their time in quarreling. Finally in March, 1496, Columbus began his return voyage to Spain with many sick colonists and some thirty Indian slaves. At the court of Ferdinand and Isabella, Columbus attempted to explain away the complaints which had been raised against him.

The Third Voyage. The fortunes of Columbus now began to decline. On May 30, 1498, the Admiral left Spain with six vessels containing crews of men freed from prison on the condition that they be exiled in the colony. At the Canary Islands the fleet divided, three vessels going direct to Española, and three sailing along the Equator under the command of Columbus. On August 1, Columbus reached South

America in the vicinity of the Orinoco River, and then sailing northward he discovered Trinidad and several islands of the Lesser Antilles. Finally, he reached Santo Domingo, recently founded by his brother in a more desirable location than was the town of Isabella. The colony was more troubled with revolts than before. Columbus endeavored to establish peace, and at the same time he sent to Spain for assistance. But instead of the desired aid, there came from Spain in August, 1500, Francisco de Bobadilla, appointed by the king to inquire into the complaints against the Admiral. After a brief hearing before this official, Columbus, his brother Bartolomé, and his son Diego, were sent to Spain under arrest. There, however, the sovereigns released them and assured Columbus that their agent had overstepped his instructions.

The Fourth Voyage. It was some months before Columbus could assemble another expedition. Finally on May 9, 1502, the Admiral left Spain with four small ships with orders not to touch at Santo Domingo. In spite of these commands, however, Columbus put into that port for repairs on June 2. Forced to leave by the officials, he sailed westward and coasted the shore of Central America, finally landing in Panama, which he called Veragua, and founding the town of Santa María de Belén. He was attacked by the savage Indians and left Panama on Easter, 1503. After encountering severe storms, he was finally wrecked on the island of Jamaica in May, from which predicament he was rescued by the new Governor of Española, Nicolás Ovando. It was not until November, 1504, that the Admiral reached Spain.

The Death of Columbus. Shortly after his arrival in Spain, Queen Isabella, his chief supporter, died. Columbus himself was ill, probably from syphilis which caused a brain disorder. His enemies continued to hound him, and his poverty increased. He died on May 20, 1506, and to this day the exact location of his remains is unknown.

OTHER LEADING EXPLORERS

While Columbus was engaged in the work of discovery, others were planning or making similar expeditions. For England, John Cabot was sailing westward (1497-1498), while

for Portugal, the Cortereal brothers were exploring toward the northwest (1500-1502), and Pedro Alvares Cabral was sailing along the coast of Brazil while on the way to Africa (1500). Two other names deserve mention: one was the ubiquitous and boastful Vespucci, and the other was the daring and crippled Magellan.

Amerigo Vespucci. This adventurer, who was born in Florence, Italy, in 1451, served in Spain as the agent of the Medici commercial house. Becoming interested in overseas voyages, he sailed to America, so he claimed, on four expeditions—two under the Spanish flag (in 1497 and 1499) and two under the Portuguese flag (in 1501 and 1503). On these trips he alleged that he explored the coasts of the continent from about 52 degrees south latitude to about 16 degrees north latitude. Finding what he thought was brazilwood along the South American coast, he gave the name of Brazil to the region. Upon his return to Europe in 1504, Vespucci seems to have visited Columbus, and shortly afterwards he wrote a series of accounts of his experiences, giving himself a more prominent place on each voyage than was actually the case. In 1507, in the College of St. Dié, a professor of geography named Martin Waldseemüller, after learning of Vespucci's accounts, published a map of the New World suggesting and using the word "America" in connection with it as an honor to Amerigo Vespucci. But later, learning of his mistake, the careful professor published a new map with the old term replaced by the words "Terra Incognita." The term used by the Spaniards and the Portuguese, however, was more convenient, for they spoke of their possessions as the "Indies."

Ferdinand Magellan. Fernão de Magalhães, as his name is spelled in Portuguese, was born about 1480 into a family of the fourth order of Portuguese nobility. He served his king in India, in the Moluccas (the Spice Islands of the East Indies), and in Africa, where he was wounded and crippled. Being accused unjustly of trading with the enemy in Morocco, he fell into disfavor with King Manoel of Portugal, and decided to offer his services to Charles V of Spain. To that monarch Magellan suggested the possibility of sailing around the newly-found continent in the west and reaching the East Indies.

and Asia With the financial backing of a friend, Magellan set sail with five Spanish ships for South America in September, 1519 On December 13, the expedition arrived at what is now Rio de Janeiro From there Magellan sailed to the Río de la Plata and then (in March, 1520) on to about 49 degrees south latitude, where he wintered, crushed a mutiny, and made contacts with the natives, whom the Spaniards called Patagonians (or "Big Feet"). Leaving there in August, 1520, the fleet went southward and entered the Strait, which bears Magellan's name, on October 21 In thirty-eight days they traversed the 360 miles of the Strait, and then for ninety-eight days they sailed northwestward, reaching the Ladrone (now Mariana) Islands on March 6, 1521 On this voyage food and water were exhausted, but at Guam these were replenished On April 7, 1521, they reached the Philippines, where on the island of Mactán, Magellan allied himself with a native chief and was killed in the ensuing struggle But having been in the East Indies before, he was the first man to circumnavigate the globe His ships continued on, but only one returned to Europe in September, 1522. It was now definitely proved that Columbus had discovered a new continent

MAPPING THE ATLANTIC COAST OF AMERICA

A swarm of Spanish and a few Portuguese adventurers, with a small mixture of other nationalities, followed closely on the heels of Columbus' second voyage These men were chiefly inspired by the desire to gain personal riches and glory, but whatever land they discovered they claimed in the name of their king Within about three decades after the first voyage of Columbus most of the Atlantic coast line of America was known and mapped

The South American Coast. On the northern coast of South America, Columbus had discovered pearls, and thereafter that region was known as the Pearl Coast, although it also came to be called the Spanish Main. To this region, after Columbus, came Alonso de Ojeda, Vespucci, Juan de la Cosa (the map maker), Pedro Alonso Niño, and Diego de Lepe (1499-1500).

Along the Brazilian coast before the coming of Cabral from Portugal, were the Spaniards, Diego de Lepe and Vicente Yáñez Pinzón (1499-1500)

From 1501 to 1503 Vespucci claimed that he was twice along the south Atlantic coast of America. In 1509 Juan Díaz de Solís and Vicente Yáñez Pinzón were in the same region. In 1515 the former, while exploring the Río de la Plata, was killed and eaten by Indians in that territory

The Coast of Mexico and Central America. In 1500 Rodrigo Bastidas and Vasco Núñez de Balboa preceded Columbus in exploring along the coast of Central America. In 1506 Juan Díaz de Solís and Pinzón explored the region. In 1517 Francisco Hernández de Córdoba explored Yucatan, and the next year Juan Grijalva sailed along the Mexican coast. In 1519 Alonso de Pineda explored the Gulf coast of Mexico, while in the same year Hernando Cortés began his famous conquest of Mexico from his base at Vera Cruz.

The Coast of the United States. In 1513 Juan Ponce de León sailed along the Gulf coast of Florida, and in 1519 Alonso de Pineda explored the Gulf coast of the United States. Finally, in 1521 the eastern seaboard of the country was explored by Francisco Gordillo and Pedro de Quexos

SETTLEMENTS IN THE CARIBBEAN AREA

In the Islands. In 1508 Sebastián Ocampo circumnavigated the island of Cuba, and in 1511 the conquest of Cuba began under Diego Velásquez de León, who founded Santiago in 1514 and Havana about 1515. Meanwhile, Puerto Rico was conquered by Juan Ponce de León in 1509, and the city of San Juan was established in 1511. Also in 1509, Juan de Esquivel settled the island of Jamaica, calling it "Santiago."

On the Mainland. In 1503 Columbus had founded the short-lived town of Santa María de Belén on the Isthmus of Panama. Five years later, in 1508, Alonso de Ojeda received a grant of land on the Pearl Coast east of Panama, while at the same time Diego de Nicuesa obtained a grant of land from Panama northward. In 1509 Ojeda founded the town of San Sebastián, which was later moved to a new site called

Santa María la Antigua del Darién In 1510 Nicuesa founded a colony at Nombre de Dios.

In 1513 the governor in the colony of Darién was the red-headed, blue-eyed, energetic Vasco Núñez de Balboa. In September of that year, after one of the most difficult marches in recorded history, he discovered the Pacific Ocean, which he called the South Sea, and took possession of it and all the lands bordering it in the name of the king of Spain. But the next year, with the arrival of a new governor, Pedro Arias d'Ávila (called Pedrarias), the fortunes of Balboa declined, and he was finally executed by Pedrarias in 1519. The same year, Pedrarias moved across the Isthmus and founded the town of Panama on the Pacific side, the first Spanish settlement on the Pacific Ocean.

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CHAPTER FOUR

THE GREAT CONQUERORS

The conquest of America by the Spaniards and the Portuguese was carried out at private cost and at private initiative. The rulers gave only their permission and their good wishes. Thousands of adventurous souls from the Iberian Peninsula sold their worldly goods and went to the Indies. Three motives for conquest were rapidly formulated: gold, glory, and gospel. The first and second aggrandized the state and the individual, while the third contributed to the glory of the Roman Catholic Church, whose interests the sovereigns of the peninsula had at heart.

Among the leaders of the conquest in America were four individuals, who, because they fought and overcame the greatest native opposition, prepared the way for the exploration of many adjacent regions and made possible the establishment of permanent colonial governments and the consolidation of vast amounts of territory.

HERNANDO CORTES

His Early Life. Born in Medellín, Spain, in 1485, Cortés, came of a noble family. He attended the University of Salamanca for two years, but was more interested in dissipation than in studies. In 1504 he went to Santo Domingo, where he became a planter. In 1511 Cortés went to Cuba with Governor Diego de Velásquez, whose sister-in-law he married. But a quiet, domestic life was not to the liking of Cortés, and in October, 1518, he obtained a commission from Velásquez to find and to conquer the kingdom of the Aztecs on the mainland to the west.

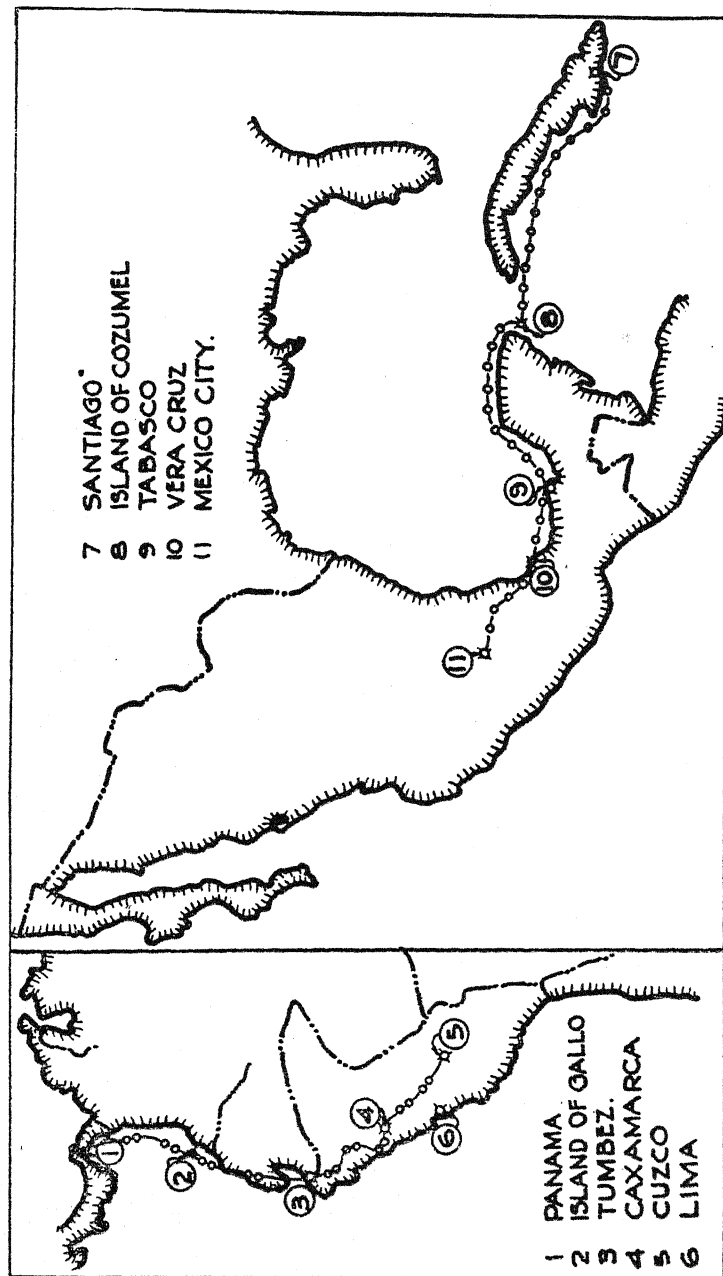


Fig. 15. Conquest of Peru and Mexico.

Cortés Conquers Mexico. On November 18, 1518, at the age of thirty-four, Cortés sailed from Cuba with a dozen ships, more than five hundred soldiers, one hundred sailors, many servants and slaves, sixteen horses, and a number of cannon. At the island of Cozumel, off the coast of Yucatan, Cortés found a shipwrecked Spaniard named Aguilar, who understood the Maya language. In March, 1519, the expedition left this island and soon afterward landed on the Tabasco coast, where they found a Maya girl, called Marina, who understood the Maya and Aztec languages. With these two interpreters, the Spaniards were enabled later to converse with the Aztecs.

On April 21, Cortés landed his forces at the present site of Vera Cruz, which he named. After burning his ships in order to prevent his dissatisfied men from returning to Cuba and in order to use the sailors on land, Cortés began in August to fight his way inland to the Aztec capital high in the Great Valley of Mexico. With the aid of Indian allies and with the judicious use of his cannon, firearms, and horses, Cortés overcame all opposition, and on November 8, he arrived at the edge of the lake on an island on which stood the great Aztec capital ruled over by Montezuma II. The emperor greeted the Spaniards and gave them quarters in the city. But the handful of conquerors, fearing treachery, forced Montezuma to live with them, to declare his allegiance to the Spanish king, and to make payment of gold to the Spaniards.

In the meantime, Velásquez had sent a fleet from Cuba under Pánfilo de Narváez to limit the authority of Cortés. When this force reached Vera Cruz, Cortés hastened there and persuaded his enemies to join with him in winning riches from the Aztecs. With this assistance Cortés returned to the capital, where he found Pedro de Alvarado, whom he had left in command, besieged by the Indians under a leader elected to succeed Montezuma. Failing to quiet Aztec enmity, Cortés led his forces, on the night of June 30, 1519, out of the city and along the causeway to the border of the lake. When they reached the edge of the lake, they had lost more than half of their men in this bloody retreat of "La Noche Triste." Thereupon Cortés resolved to build a fleet on the lake and to capture the city from the water. In May, 1521, these ships attacked the capital, and after a siege the city fell on August 13.

Cortés Establishes a Government. Immediately the rebuilding of the city on a Spanish pattern was begun, and Cortés established a Spanish municipal government, with Pedro de Alvarado as mayor. Lands and Indians were assigned to the followers of Cortés, and plans were made for

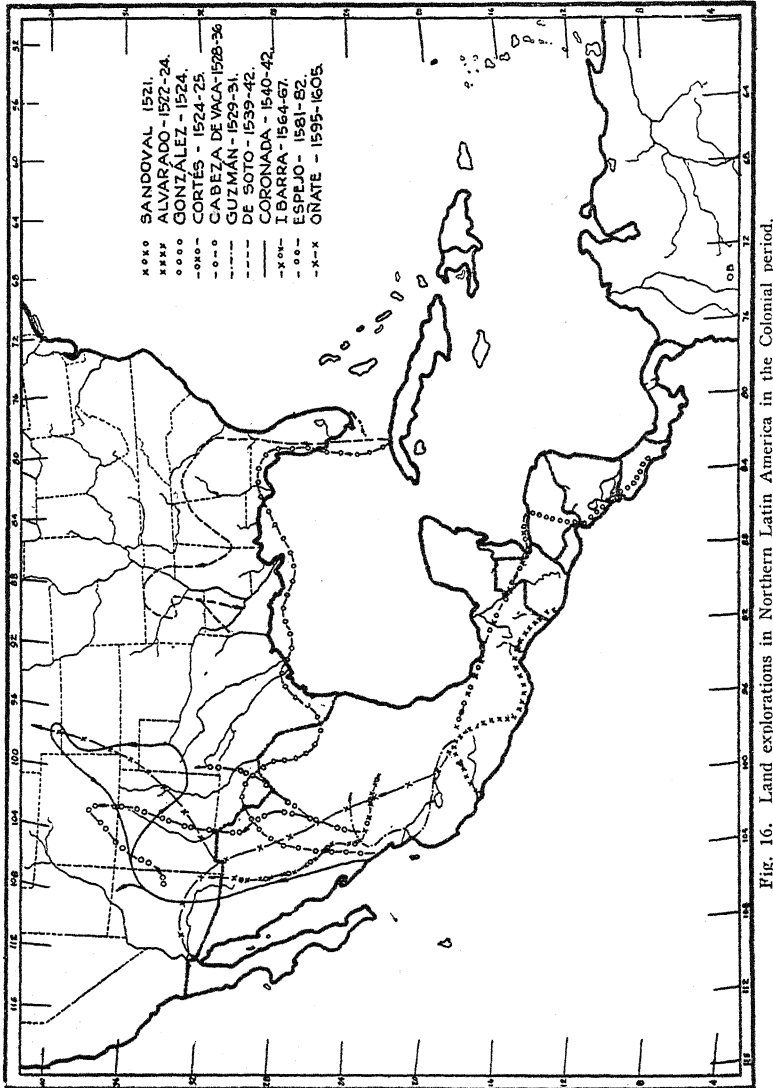


Fig. 16. Land explorations in Northern Latin America in the Colonial period.

seizing the surrounding territory. New officials were sent from Spain to take over the new government and to supervise mining and all economic matters. In October, 1522, the king named Cortés governor and captain general of New Spain, as Mexico was then called.

Cortés After the Conquest. Despite his achievements, the enemies of Cortés in New Spain and in Old Spain caused him to suffer many indignities, and in 1528 he went to Spain to present his defense to the crown. Charles V was much impressed and he granted Cortés twenty-two towns and 23,000 vassals in Mexico and gave him the title "Marquis of the Valley of Oaxaca." In 1530 Cortés returned to New Spain, where he found life was not pleasant. He then went back to the Peninsula, and later he fought in Algiers. He died in 1547.

FRANCISCO PIZARRO

Preliminaries of the Conquest of Peru. The conqueror of Peru was born in Spain between 1470 and 1478. He was an illegitimate son of a Spanish army officer. Deserted by his parents, he made his way in early life as an illiterate swineherd. In 1509 he went to the Indies, and the next year he went to the Isthmus of Panama with Ojeda. In 1513 he crossed Panama with Balboa and became one of the discoverers of the Pacific. Hearing of rich native kingdoms lying to the south, he resolved to search for them. At the time, however, he was too poor to equip an expedition. Therefore, he settled down to farming near Panama City in partnership with a friend, Diego de Almagro, who was also an illiterate adventurer of unknown parentage.

In 1524 these men sold their farm and fitted out two ships to search for the kingdoms along the South Sea. On November 14, they sailed from Panama but were soon back with both ships damaged. They had, however, reached about 4 degrees north latitude.

Nothing daunted, they planned a second expedition. With the financial aid of a broken-down priest, Hernando de Luque, and the Mayor of Panama, Gaspar de Espinosa, they equipped two vessels with 160 men and five horses and sailed from the

Isthmus on March 10, 1526. Sailing against adverse currents, they twice ran out of supplies, for which they had to send back to Panama, but they finally reached a point about 9 degrees south latitude in 1527. From there they returned to the Isthmus with stories of the rich nations of Peru.

Pizarro now resolved to go to Spain to obtain from the king an official patent to the country. As a result Charles V

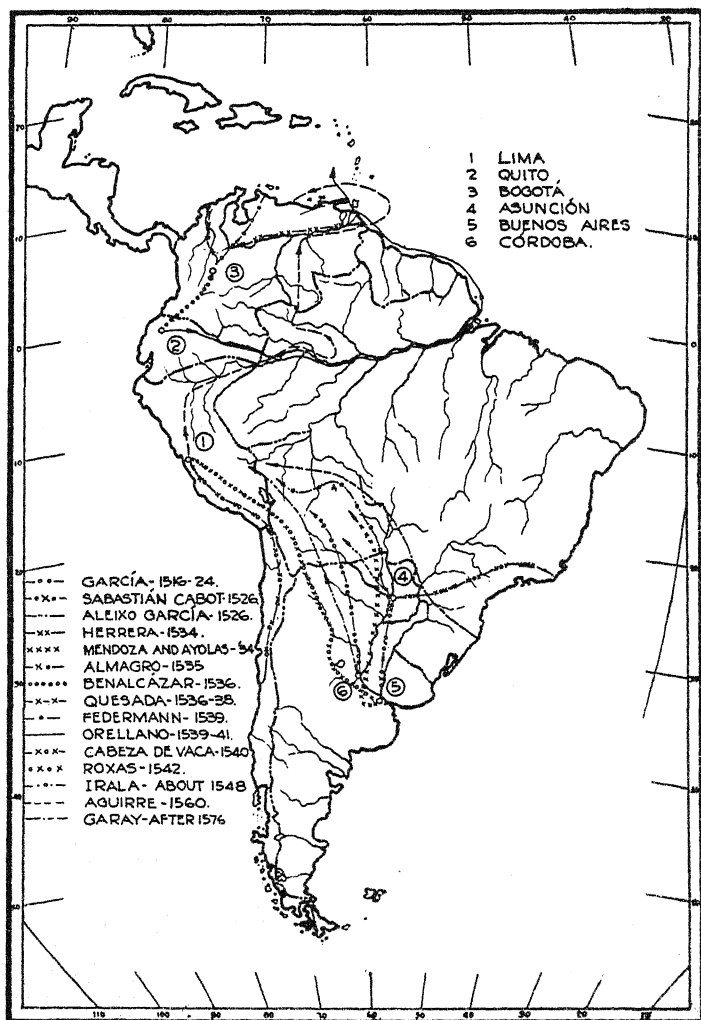


Fig. 17 Land explorations in Southern Latin America in the Colonial period.

granted land to Pizarro and to Almagro and appointed de Luque as Bishop of Tumbes. Pizarro was also given a coat of arms and made a noble. When Pizarro returned to America in January, 1530, he took with him his four half-brothers

The Conquest of Peru. In January, 1531, Pizarro led a third expedition, consisting of three ships, 183 men, and thirty-seven horses, southward from Panama. In November, 1532, the adventurers reached Caxamarca, where they met the Inca ruler, Atahualpa, then at war with his half-brother Huascar. By treachery the Spaniards seized the native monarch and held him a prisoner. However, it was agreed that if he would fill a room 22 feet by 17 feet with gold, he would be allowed to go free. But when this task was accomplished, the conquerors decided not to free Atahualpa, and shortly afterwards an excuse was found to execute him on August 29, 1533.

From Caxamarca the conquest of the Incas was extended in all directions. In November, 1533, Hernando de Soto took Cuzco, and the next year Quito was founded. In January, 1535, Pizarro founded Lima, "The City of the Kings," as his capital, and Trujillo, Guayaquil, and other towns were established. As in New Spain, the surrounding territory was rapidly explored and subjugated. But it was not long before quarrels among the conquerors caused civil wars in Peru, which for a decade prevented the establishment of an orderly government and the exploitation of the riches of the country.

JIMENEZ DE QUESADA

Preliminaries of the Conquest. Gonzalo Jiménez de Quesada was born in 1499 in Córdoba, Spain. He came from a noble family and was educated for the law. But although he was a scholar, he was interested in horsemanship and in the use of arms. In 1535 he went to America and became a magistrate at Santa Marta on the Pearl Coast, where the governor of the region, Fernando de Lugo, was interested in finding gold among the neighboring Indians. Early in 1536 he commissioned Quesada to lead an expedition southward to look for riches.

The Conquest of the Chibchas. On April 6, 1536, Quesada set out with six hundred infantrymen, one hundred

horses, and six ships with two hundred men on board. The fleet was to go up the Magdalena River while Quesada was to head his men overland into the high plateau of central Colombia. Clothed in heavy cotton armor as protection against the poisoned arrows of the Indians, the men cut their way foot by foot through the steaming jungles, making contacts occasionally with the ships ascending the treacherous river. Finally, after going four hundred miles in eight months and having lost two-thirds of his men, Quesada founded the town of La Tora on the Magdalena River. After resting there, the Spaniards moved into the mountainous region to the east. By now their clothes, which had been torn to shreds, offered slight protection against the cold. They dragged their cannon up precipices and toiled through deep drifts of snow. At last, 166 men reached the great plain near the present city of Bogotá where the Chibchas lived.

Because the Chibcha kingdom was divided into two parts, each with a ruler, the Spaniards were able eventually to overcome native resistance and to seize several native leaders. On August 6, 1538, Quesada founded the town of Santa Fe de Bogotá, which he planned to be the capital of the country. There he left his brother in charge and returned to the coast. Expansion from this city occurred in all directions, and some gold and emeralds were found.

Quesada After the Conquest. From the Pearl Coast, Quesada went to Spain, where he obtained a grant to the land he had conquered. But his enemies complained against him and he was tried for the torture of a Chibcha chief, fined, and banished from the country. In 1549 his rights were restored and he became an official at Bogotá. Twenty years later he led an expedition eastward from the city in search of "El Dorado," and in the following years he engaged in Indian warfare. On February 16, 1579, Quesada died at the age of eighty, probably from leprosy.

PEDRO DE VALDIVIA

Valdivia Before the Conquest. One of the conquerors of Peru was Pedro de Valdivia, born in Spain of noble parents in 1500. He served in the army of Charles V in Italy, and in

1530 went to America. Two years later he was in Peru, where he won the confidence of Pizarro and became rich from a mine which he discovered. Interest in the country south of Peru was keen, and in 1535 Almagro set out to conquer Chile. But after terrible hardships he was forced to return to Peru, having reached as far south as the present city of Santiago. This disaster only stimulated Pizarro with a greater desire to occupy Chile, and in 1539 he commissioned Valdivia to undertake the task.

The Conquest of Chile. In 1540 Valdivia with two hundred Spaniards and a thousand native servants started southward over a route different from that taken by Almagro. From the very beginning his men were mutinous. Fighting the fierce Araucanian Indians as they advanced, Valdivia and his men finally founded the city of Santiago on February 12, 1541. When the natives burned this town, Valdivia founded La Serena. With the help of the sorely needed reinforcements which arrived from Peru, the Spaniards built the town of Valparaíso in September, 1544. By 1546 Valdivia had extended his influence as far south as the Biobío River, near the mouth of which he founded Concepción in January, 1550. The next year he built Imperial, and in 1552 he founded the town of Valdivia. With further aid from Peru, Valdivia sent an expedition across the Andes to found towns in present-day Argentina.

Meanwhile, Valdivia wrote Charles V asking for a confirmation to the land which he was conquering. At the same time, Indian fighting began anew, and on December 31, 1553, Valdivia was killed in a battle. The Spaniards were seized with panic and fled northward, being hotly pursued by the Araucanians, under two leaders, Caupolicán and Lautaro. For a time the Indians swept all before them. But at last, after nearly a half century of warfare, the Spaniards fortified the Biobío River as their southern boundary and attempted with partial success to keep the natives south of that line.

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CHAPTER FIVE

THE GREAT EXPLORERS

Most of the territory conquered by Spain and Portugal was not obtained in so spectacular a fashion as was that described in the previous chapter. Indeed, land was explored and conquered chiefly by small bands of men with the assistance of firearms, horses, and fierce dogs trained to fight. Conquest involved at times a conscious attempt to spread disease, especially the measles, among the Indians. Thousands of expeditions on a small scale, often consisting of a handful of soldiers and a priest, helped to give Spain and Portugal their claims to America. Often the natives were not completely subdued for centuries. Eventually Spain laid claim to about two-thirds of the continent, while Portugal claimed only a part of what is now Brazil.

The motives for the explorations remained constant throughout nearly three centuries. gold, glory, and gospel. But everywhere the Europeans went they heard tales from the natives of strange lands and peoples, and of rich cities and kingdoms. In North America the explorers, therefore, were seeking the Fountain of Youth, the Seven Cities of Cíbola, the Island of the Amazons, Chicora, Quivira, and other fabulous places of great riches, while in South America they sought El Dorado (the Gilded Man), the Kingdom of the Amazons, the Land of Cinnamon, Omagua, Meta, and similar places of supposed wealth. Needless to say, these northern and southern "mysteries" were never encountered, but the desire to find them led the explorers into many far corners of the continent.

EXPLORATIONS IN NORTH AMERICA

Southeastern United States. Many expeditions went to Florida ("La Florida," as it was called) from the West Indies. Juan Ponce de León, in 1521, went to Florida with some two hundred men hoping to found a colony, but in a battle with the fierce natives the Spaniards were defeated and the leader was killed.



Fig. 18. Government divisions and grants in South America by 1534.

Lucas Vázquez de Ayllón, in 1526, sailed from Española with three ships and five hundred colonists hoping to land in what are now the Carolinas, but the leader died and the colonists returned home late in 1528.

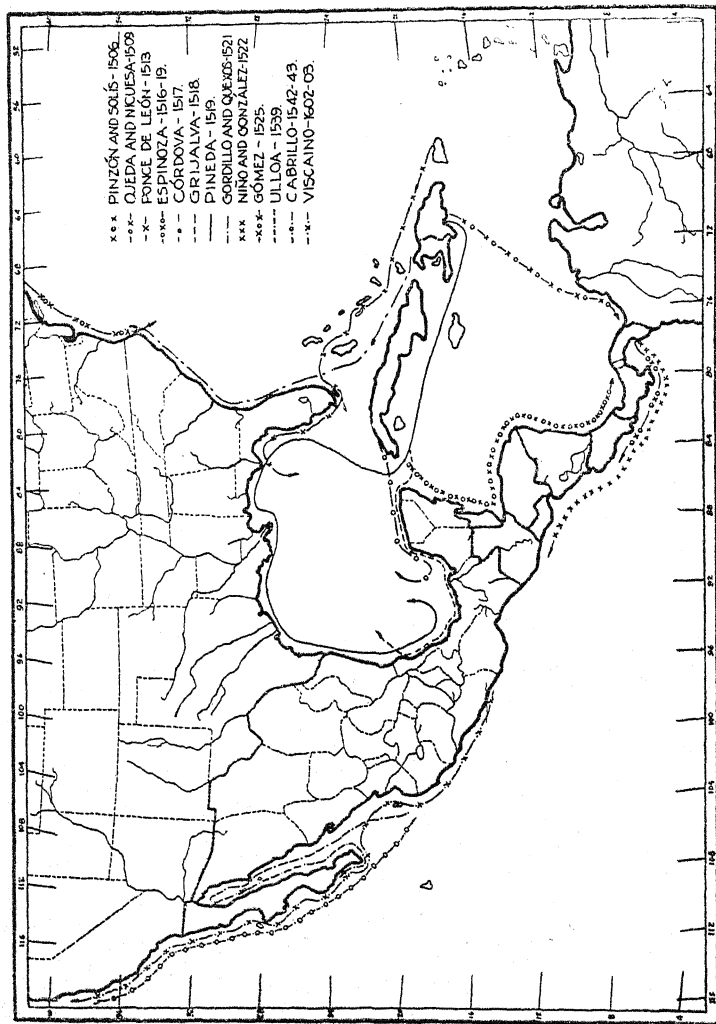


Fig. 19. Water explorations in Northern Latin America in the Colonial period.

Pánfilo de Narváez, on April 15, 1528, en route from Spain with six hundred persons and eighty horses, landed near the present Tampa Bay. Marching inland, his company fought the

Indians but failed to find riches. At the end of July, they reached St. Mark's Bay, hoping to find ships which would take them to the West Indies. But no aid came, and they killed and ate their horses, using the skins to make five small boats in which they set sail on September 22. A hurricane blew them along the Gulf coast, sinking all but one ship, which was wrecked on the coast of Texas. In this craft was the treasurer of the expedition, Alvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca, with several companions. These survivors, wishing to reach Mexico City overland, set out to walk there, but they were seized by numerous Indian tribes as they moved along, and they did not reach Culiacán on the Pacific coast of Mexico until April 1, 1536, after having walked several thousands of miles. The stories they told of the things they had seen and heard led other adventurers to explore the southwestern part of the United States.

Hernando de Soto, on May 25, 1539, landed at Tampa Bay with about six hundred men and 223 horses to look for riches and several of the northern mysteries. For about four years this band wandered through present Georgia, the Carolinas, Alabama, Mississippi, Arkansas, and Oklahoma. But they found no wealth of any consequence, and when on May 21, 1542, the leader died, the explorers, under Luis de Moscoso, turned back, floated down the Mississippi River, and finally reached Mexico in 1543.

In June, 1559, Tristán de Luna landed at Pensacola Bay with 1,500 men in thirteen ships, prepared to establish a colony. But hardships and mutiny ensued, and de Luna was replaced by Angel de Villafañe, who had come from Mexico with supplies and who now moved the colony to Santa Elena on Port Royal Sound. However, all attempts to found a permanent colony failed, and in 1561 Philip II of Spain declared that no more attempts should be made to colonize Florida.

But because the French Huguenots took an interest in Florida, the Spanish king changed his mind and sent Pedro Menéndez de Avilés with 1,500 colonists in nineteen ships to Florida, where on September 6, 1565, the town of St. Augustine was founded. From that time on this city was used

as a base for further expansion in La Florida. Menéndez, however, died in 1574, and the colony was never prosperous

Southwestern United States. Alvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca had returned to Mexico with tales of the famous Seven Cities of Cíbola, and the viceroy commissioned the Franciscan, Marcos de Niza, and a Negro, named Estevanico, to find these cities and to bring back a full report. In March, 1539, they set out northward, with Estevanico going ahead and promising to send back a token if he found the cities. When this was received Marcos hastened on, but he learned that the Negro had been killed by the Indians and that the supposed Seven Cities was only a Zuñi pueblo. Returning to Mexico, Father Marcos, however, reported that he had found the Seven Cities of Cíbola and that they were richer than Mexico City itself

As a result of this report, the viceroy decided to send a great expedition to the region, and he commissioned Francisco Vázquez de Coronado to seize it. In February, 1540, Coronado took two hundred horsemen, seventy infantrymen, and nine hundred Indian servants with cattle and horses overland toward the north. For nearly two years the explorers searched for a land of riches and passed through the states of New Mexico, Arizona, Texas, Oklahoma, Colorado, Kansas, and Nebraska. In 1542 they finally returned to Mexico.

In the years that followed, only small exploring parties were sent out toward the north, chiefly with the aims of finding and opening mines or of establishing missions and towns. One of the most important of these was led by Juan de Oñate, who, in 1595, received the right to colonize New Mexico. In 1598 he set out with one hundred soldiers, some missionaries, slaves, and cattle. By 1601 he may have gone as far as Wichita, Kansas, returning to Mexico in 1609, the year in which Santa Fe was founded by Pedro de Peralta. From this region and from northern Mexico expeditions were sent into Upper California, where many missions were founded by the regular clergy in the two following centuries.

Water Explorations from New Spain. Cortés showed an early interest in mapping the Pacific coast of New Spain and

in making discoveries in the ocean. In 1527 he sent an abortive expedition under Alvar de Saavedra Cerón across the sea to the Moluccas, and in 1532 his agents explored the Gulf of Lower California, which came to be called the Gulf of Cortés. In 1533 Lower California was discovered and believed to be an island. In 1535 Cortés founded a colony on the peninsula of Lower California at La Paz. Finally, in 1539 an expedition under Francisco de Ulloa proved that Lower California was a peninsula and not an island; but the belief that it was an island persisted for many years.

Juan Rodríguez Cabrillo, in 1542, sailed along the coast of California to perhaps 40 degrees north latitude, but he died before returning to Mexico.

Ruy López de Villalobos led an expedition across the Pacific in 1542 and took possession of the Philippines for the Spanish king, but he was captured by the Portuguese there and died in the Moluccas.

Miguel López de Legazpi, with four hundred men and four ships, left Mexico in November, 1564, for the Philippines. There they had considerable trouble with the Portuguese, but in the end founded Manila in 1571, as a Spanish city. The next year the leader died.

Sebastián Rodríguez Cermeño, in 1595, tried to map the California coast but was wrecked in Drake's Bay.

Sebastián Vizcáino, in 1602, explored the California coast as far north as Oregon and mapped Monterey Bay as a port of call for ships returning from the Philippines.

Central America. Central America was explored both from Mexico proper and from Panama. Cortés was especially interested in exploring and conquering the territory. In 1523 and 1524 Alvarado extended his influence as far south as present-day El Salvador. In 1524 Cristóbal de Olid, under the direction of Cortés, went to Honduras, and Cortés himself went to Honduras shortly thereafter. In 1526 the conquest of Yucatan was undertaken. Frequently in Central America the forces of different Spanish leaders clashed, and especially was there rivalry between the forces coming from Mexico and those coming from Panama City, which were sent out at first by Pedrarias.

In 1522 and 1523 Andrés Niño and Gil González Dávila explored northward from Panama along the coast of Nicaragua. In 1524 the latter went from Española to Honduras, where he engaged in warfare with other Spanish forces. In all of this exploring many towns were founded, including Trujillo, San Gil de Buenavista, Bruselas, León, Granada, and others.

In 1532 Bartolomé de las Casas, "The Apostle of the Indies," went to Nicaragua as a Dominican missionary to convert the natives, and in 1536 he was in Guatemala in a region of warlike Indians whom he pacified without the use of arms.

EXPLORATIONS IN SOUTH AMERICA

In Northern South America. Several towns were founded along the Pearl Coast: Cumaná, in 1520, Santa Marta, in 1525, Coro, in 1527, Cartagena, in 1533; and others, all of which were used as bases from which to send out exploring parties into the interior of what are now Colombia and Venezuela. All of the explorers were looking for the southern mysteries and especially for El Dorado.

In 1527 the Augsburg banking house of the Welsers obtained, as security for money which they loaned Charles V, the right to conquer and settle in Venezuela. In February, 1529, the colonists sent by the Welsers reached Coro. But the Indians were warlike, the leaders were incompetent, and the colony did not prosper. Finally, after eighteen years, the grant was given up, but not until Nicholas Federmann, von Speier, and Alfinger, three of the leaders, had explored several hundred miles inland.

Among early explorers in this territory were Diego Ordaz (1531-1535), Pedro de Heredia (1534), Gerónimo Ortal (1535), and others. Later a number of towns were founded in the interior: Pamplona (1549), Ibaqué (1551), Barquisimeto (1552), Valencia (1555), Trujillo (1556), Mérida (1558), Caracas (1568), La Guayra (1588), and others.

In Peru and Bolivia. Civil war between the Pizarros and the Almagros (father and son) prevented for a decade the effective organization of exploring expeditions in and from

Peru. In 1538, Almagro, Pizarro's partner in the conquest, was executed, and in 1541 the conqueror himself was murdered. The younger Almagro was finally executed in 1542, and the

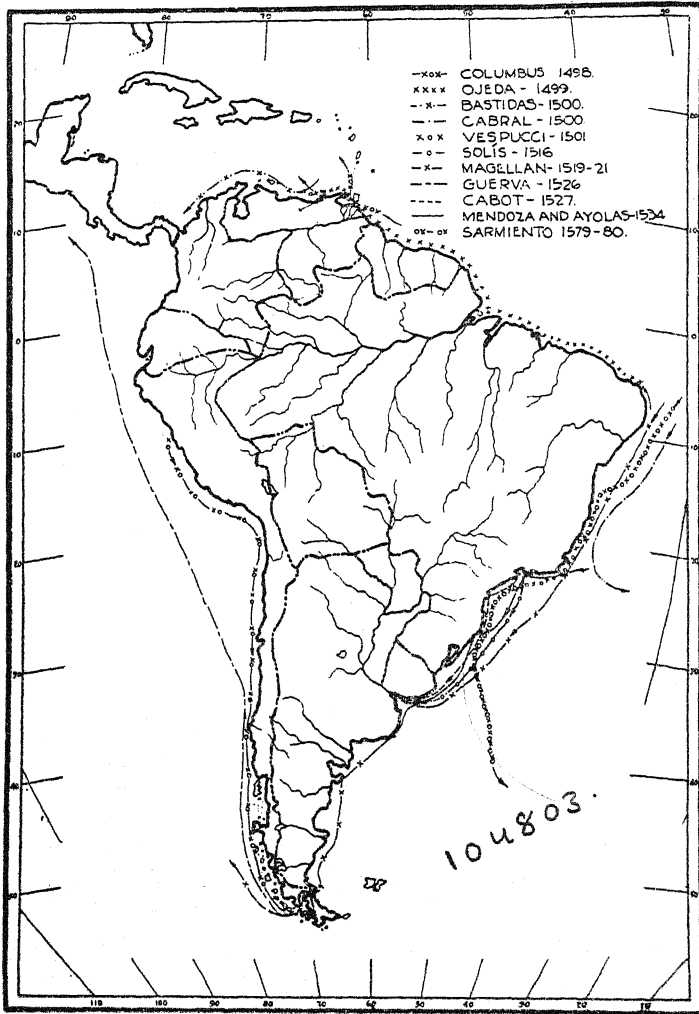


Fig. 20. Water explorations in Southern Latin America in the Colonial period.

control of Peru fell to Gonzalo Pizarro, a half-brother of the conqueror. In 1539 he set out to look for the Land of Cinnamon eastward across the Andes in the Amazon valley. From

1539 to 1542 Francisco de Orellana explored the Amazon, which thereafter was called Río Orellana.

In 1560 Viceroy Mendoza of Peru sent Pedro de Ursua to further explore the Amazon. With him went the villain, Lope de Aguirre, who murdered the leader and most of the party and then escaped northward to the Orinoco River. He was finally caught and executed for his crimes.

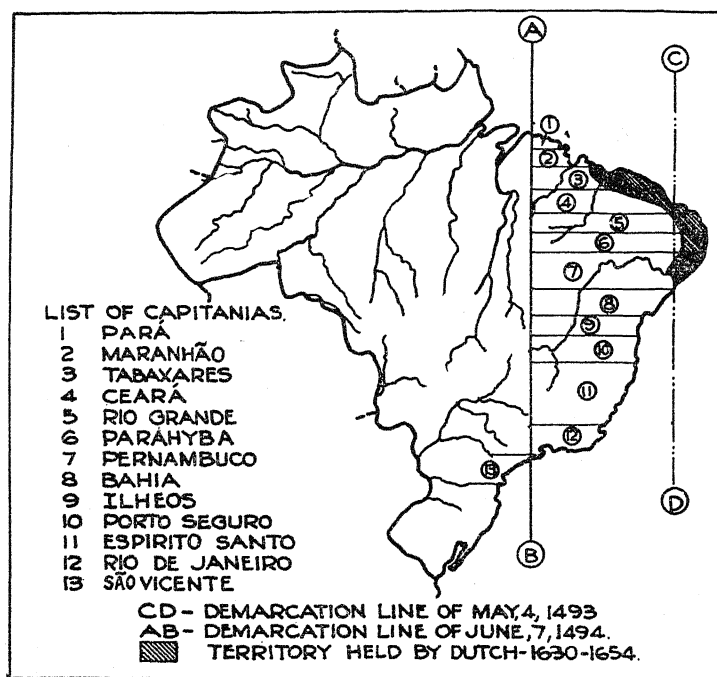


Fig. 21. Territorial Divisions in Colonial Brazil.

Expeditions into Bolivia, or Upper Peru as it was called, were sent from Peru. In 1538 the town of La Plata (later called Charcas, Sucre, and Chuquisaca) was founded, and other settlements were made.

Water Explorations from Peru. The people of Peru, like the people of New Spain, were interested, because of their location, in exploring the Pacific. About 1564 Alvaro Mendeña de Neyra sailed from Callao, the seaport of Lima, and discovered the Solomon Islands. In 1595 Mendeña, on another expedition, discovered the Marquesas Islands.

In 1579 the viceroy of Peru sent Pedro Sarmiento de Gamboa to the Strait of Magellan to intercept Francis Drake and to consider fortifying the region, but it was not until 1583 that the first settlement was made there at San Felipe

In La Plata. One of the survivors of the expedition of Solís, who was killed in this region in 1515, was Alejo García, who with four companions explored part of present-day Bolivia and Paraguay, in which region he was killed in 1525

In 1527, Sebastián Cabot, a pilot major of Spain, stopped in La Plata on his way to the Moluccas and the East and explored the region until 1530, building a fort at San Espíritu and finding some gold

In September, 1534, Pedro de Mendoza led an expedition of eleven ships carrying 2,500 colonists, cattle, seed, and agricultural implements to La Plata. In 1535 they built a fort at Santa María de Buenos Aires, which was soon attacked by the Indians. In consequence, the colony was moved up the river to Corpus Christi. In 1536 the town of Asunción was founded. With this city as a center other towns were established in the interior of Argentina, including Santa Fe and Córdoba in 1573. Finally, in 1580 a town was built at Buenos Aires, and in the following years towns were laid out at Tucumán (1585), Corrientes (1588), Rioja (1591), and San Luis (1596). Four leaders in this region were Domingo Martínez de Irala, Juan de Ayolas, Alvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca, and Juan de Garay

Brazil. The Portuguese government seemed to take little interest in Brazil until about 1530. In 1500 Cabral reported his discovery. In the next few years several Portuguese adventurers settled or explored the coast, including Diogo Alvares Correa and João Ramalho. In 1526 Aleixo Garcia landed in the present state of Santa Catharina and with a band of natives marched overland toward the Inca kingdom, but his party perished. In the same year Christovão Jacques landed north of present-day Pernambuco

Finally, in 1530 the Portuguese government sent Martim Affonso de Sousa with settlers, cattle, seeds, and agricultural implements to colonize the country. They built a fort at Rio

de Janeiro, but it was destroyed early the next year, and in 1532 they founded São Vicente. Sousa was to be governor and to lay out a dozen *capitanias*, or feudal estates, each to be in charge of a noble, called a *donatario*, who was to build towns and forts, explore, and carry on trade with the mother country. These estates were laid out facing the coast and extending inland to the Demarcation Line. But the Portuguese sent over so many criminals as colonists, and the climate proved so enervating, that the colony got a poor start.

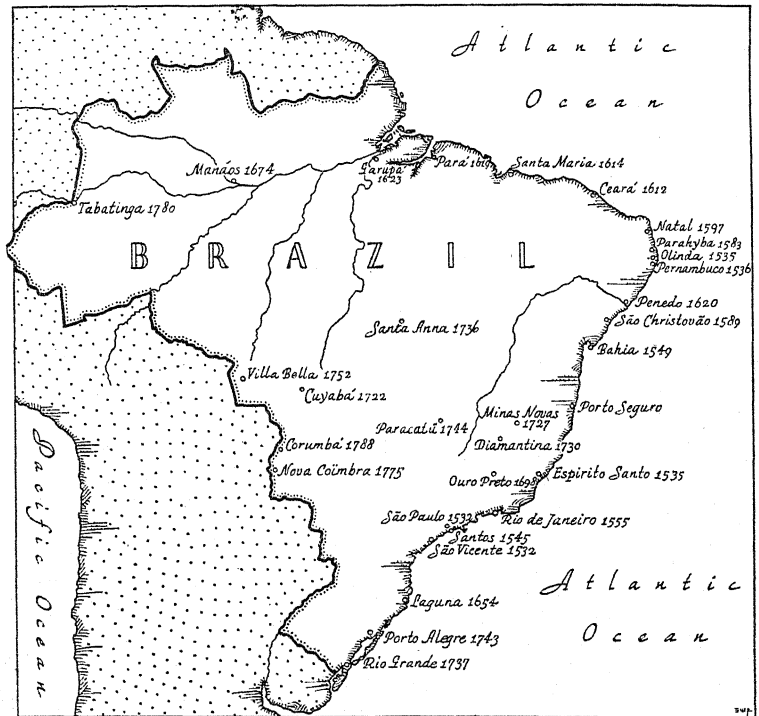


Fig. 22. Colonial settlements in Brazil.

However, several towns were founded during this period. About 1535 Duarte Coelho Pereira founded Olinda, in 1536 Pero Lopes de Sousa established the towns of Santo Amaro and Itamarica, and in the same year Pernambuco was settled.

In April, 1549, Thomé de Sousa brought more colonists to the country in six ships and founded the town of Bahia.

From this period interest in explorations of the interior increased. In 1560 Braz Cubas at São Vicente led an expedition north and west in search of the headwaters of the São Francisco River and to look for gold. Also in 1560 Vasco de Caldas led an exploring party westward from Bahia. Sebastião Tourinho explored the present state of Minas Geraes for minerals in 1572 and 1573.

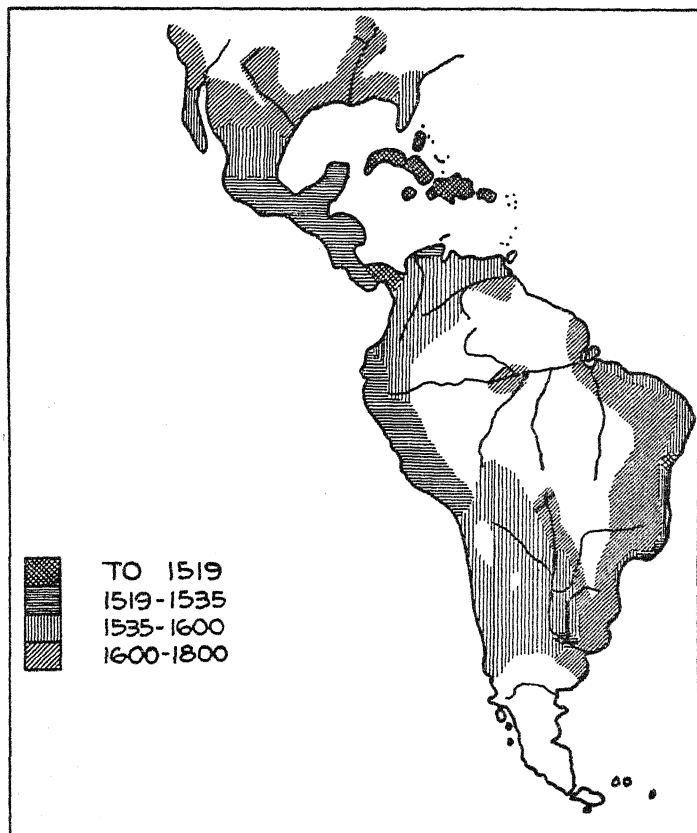


Fig. 23. Spanish and Portuguese occupation of America to 1800..

In 1580 the colony of Brazil became a Spanish possession, when Philip II of Spain inherited the throne of Portugal. This "captivity" lasted until 1640, and during the period renewed exploring activities occurred. But it was not until the eight-

teenth century that many towns were opened in the interior, and especially in the southern part of Brazil, where gold and diamonds were found by the roaming Paulistas. For much of her colonial life Brazil remained a coastal colony.

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CHAPTER SIX

COLONIAL ADMINISTRATION

COLONIAL GOVERNMENTS IN THE MOTHER COUNTRIES

Theory of Colonial Government. From the standpoint of theory the methods devised for controlling the Iberian colonies in America were carefully planned, but in actual practice the colonial governments of Spain and Portugal in America were awkward, burdensome, slow, expensive, and at times almost unmanageable. The management of the colonies was to be paternalistic and the colonists were to be in relation to the mother countries as children are to parents—to do as they were told without asking why. In a modified form the two countries applied the mercantile system to their colonies and held them in a close, selfish bondage as the best way in which to exploit them profitably.

Power of the Kings. By virtue of the papal grants of Demarcation the Spanish and Portuguese kings owned in person all land and water in their respective colonies. Thus, the rulers could grant or refuse to grant territory in America, and they could claim all or portions of the products from the land and water there. The kings could allow or refuse to allow any person to go to the colonies, they could supervise all trade to and from the colonies, and they could force the colonists to produce certain products and could prevent their production of other products. The kings collected all revenue and spent it as they pleased. As the heads of the Catholic Church in their separate kingdoms the sovereigns could collect and spend church revenues, could approve or disapprove the appointment of church officers, and could veto or sanction any

papal decree which might be directed at their colonies by the pope. Through the church the monarchs controlled all colonial education, printing, and literature. As the source of justice, the kings could make all colonial laws, try all colonists under these laws, and execute the laws. All amusements, public activities, and even private affairs were subject to the control and regulation of the Iberian rulers. All Indians, likewise, were subject to the whims of the kings and could be enslaved or protected as the sovereigns saw fit. Thus, nothing and no one was free from the theoretical interference of the monarchs.

Colonial Government in Spain. Because the Spanish king could not look after all of the functions which he had the right to supervise, he delegated some of his authority to officials both in the colonies and in Spain.

THE CASA DE CONTRATACIÓN. In 1503 the crown established at Seville the *Casa de Contratación*, which was a combination immigration office, a trade clearing-house, a mercantile tribunal, and a nautical college for the general control of colonial economic affairs. As the years passed and the functions of this body became modified, the number of officers in the body increased. In 1717 the *Casa* was moved to Cádiz, and in 1790 it was abolished. During its lifetime it served to systematize and unify the economic life of the colonies.

THE CONSEJO DE INDIAS. It was soon apparent that the *Casa* could not handle all of the colonial affairs, and in 1524 the king created the *Consejo de Indias* to supervise and control all non-economic matters pertaining to the colonies. Like the *Casa*, this body grew in membership and developed many special functions which were dealt with in a systematic fashion at regular stated times. Its members were to be noble Spanish Catholics with administrative, legal, or other specialized training and ability. The *Consejo*, which reflected the general policies of the kingdom and usually exhibited little initiative, lasted throughout the colonial period.

Colonial Government in Portugal. In the early part of the sixteenth century, because the interest in Brazil was eclipsed by interest in the eastern Portuguese possessions, the Portuguese government paid slight attention to its American

colony The king was assisted by an inspector of finance with the hope that Brazil would prove profitable economically But in 1580, when Philip II of Spain inherited the crown of Portugal, he established a finance council (*Conselho da Fazenda*) which had about the same relation to Brazil as the *Casa* and *Consejo* had to the Spanish colonies With the aid of this body the king legislated for the colony In 1604 Philip III of Spain created the *Conselho da India* copied after the Spanish *Consejo de Indias*, but in 1640, when the Portuguese regained control of the government, the name was changed to *Conselho do Ultramar* and it was given supervision of colonial civil, religious, and military affairs Colonial officers were nominated by the king's Council of State

THE FIRST COLONIAL GOVERNMENTS IN AMERICA

In the West Indies. Columbus established the first colonial government in the West Indies He had the title of governor, and he appointed all officers, distributed the land and the natives, and supervised the making of discoveries by land and water In 1502 Nicolás de Ovando became governor with almost absolute authority from the king, and the capital of the colony was moved to Santo Domingo City. Ovando was assisted by royal treasury officials who had charge of economic matters and who set aside one-third of the mining revenues for the crown In 1509 Diego Columbus (a son of the Admiral) succeeded Ovando as governor, remaining in office until 1522

In Mexico (New Spain). Cortés had founded Mexico City as the capital of Mexico, or New Spain as it came to be called, and in 1524 the king sent royal officials to take over the government In 1527 the crown established the first *audiencia*, or supreme court, which was also to act as an advisory body in matters of government Finally, in 1535 Charles V founded the Viceroyalty of New Spain and appointed Antonio de Mendoza to be the first viceroy.

In Peru. The civil wars in Peru between the Pizarros and the Almagros prevented the proper exploitation of the riches of that country, and the king appointed Blasco Núñez Vela as a special official with the title of viceroy to establish

order, to develop the region, and to take away from the Pizarro family the function of governor, which title the conqueror of Peru had been given. The viceroy arrived in 1544 and for some time was forced to fight Gonzalo Pizarro, who had assumed the title of governor of Peru. But in 1546 the viceroy was killed, and two years later the king replaced him by Pedro de la Gasca, who succeeded in capturing Gonzalo Pizarro and executing him. Finally, in 1551 the first viceroy of New Spain, Antonio de Mendoza, was promoted to the Viceroyalty of Peru, thus setting a precedent which was often followed later. The greatest viceroy in Peru in the sixteenth century was Francisco de Toledo, who held office from 1569 to 1581.

In Brazil. The first form of government in Brazil was the *capitania*, or feudal principality, ruled over by a Portuguese noble called a *donatario* appointed by the crown to colonize, exploit, and fortify his grant. Thirteen *capitanias* were laid out along the coast in 1534. They extended westward to the Demarcation Line. It was not long before the king regretted having made these extensive grants, and in 1549 he revoked the powers of the *donatarios* and sent royal governors to take over their political rights. Over all of the colony was placed a governor general, with his capital at Bahia. The first governor general was Thomé de Sousa, who served from 1549 to 1553.

THE VICEREGAL SYSTEM IN AMERICA

THE VICEROY IN THE SPANISH COLONIES. The predecessors of the viceroys were the governors and *adelantados*, each holding temporary power from the king and usually serving as leaders of conquering or exploring expeditions. As more territory was seized in America, it became necessary to consolidate vast areas, and a higher political official in the person of a viceroy was sent by the crown to represent the kingly power and authority.

The viceroy was the personal representative in America of the Spanish crown. He lived in a palace in the capital city, maintained a court and all forms of royal pomp and prestige, appointed all officials with the king's authority, and supervised the economic, religious, intellectual, and social affairs

of the colony. The early viceroys were chosen with great care by the king, and they served at the king's pleasure. The later viceroys were not so carefully selected, and they served usually from three to five years. The great majority of the viceroys were born in Spain and lived in the colonies only during their terms of office. The salary of the viceroy varied with the viceroyalty, that of Peru receiving the highest compensation. In his political control of the colony the viceroy headed the government, was supreme judge, although advised by the *audiencia*, and made and enforced the laws. To see that he functioned honestly and efficiently, the viceroy was often spied upon by a visitor general sent by the crown to report on colonial matters. At the end of his term of office the viceroy had to remain in his viceroyalty for six months and had to undergo a *residencia*, which amounted to a trial before the *audiencia*, to whom any one could complain concerning the acts of the viceroy while he had been in office.

THE VICEROY IN BRAZIL. The Portuguese government did not use the title of viceroy during the early history of Brazil, but the governor general was for all practical purposes a viceroy and had functions similar to those of the Spanish viceroy. In the eighteenth century the term was generally employed in the same sense as it was in the neighboring Spanish colonies.

THE VICEROYALTY IN THE SPANISH COLONIES. In the sixteenth century there were two viceroyalties in Spanish America: New Spain, created in 1535; and Peru, created in 1544. In the eighteenth century two more were added: New Granada, created in 1718; and La Plata, or Buenos Aires, created in 1776. These were established to better govern and defend large territories in South America remote from the seat of government at Lima, Peru. In each viceroyalty was a capital city, where the viceroy resided. The viceroyalty was divided into a number of judicial districts called *audiencias* (and in a few cases *presidencias*) in charge of each of which was a court also called an *audiencia*. A military subdivision was generally called a captaincy-general, but the captain general was not always subordinate to the viceroy. The smallest political division of a viceroyalty was a municipality. The boundaries of the viceroyalty were fixed by the crown.

THE VICEROYALTY IN BRAZIL. Between 1572 and 1577 an experiment was tried by dividing the colony into North and South Brazil, with capitals at Bahia and at Rio de Janeiro. Thereafter the capital was fixed at the latter city. In 1645 the colony was temporarily made a *principado* with the heir to the Portuguese throne as Prince of Brazil. But eventually the whole colony was placed under the authority of a viceroy, and its boundaries became fixed, although they remained



Fig. 24. Spanish America: Audiencias in the first half of the Sixteenth Century. (Map based on chapter 3, volume III, of the *Rise of the Spanish Empire* by K. B. Merriman, published by The Macmillan Company, New York, 1925.)

throughout the colonial period a matter of dispute with the neighboring Spanish colonies. The interior divisions consisted of provinces, several of which were founded on the principle of the original *capitanias*. In charge of each was a captain or

governor subordinate to the governor general and later viceroy. The municipalities were the smallest political divisions in Brazil.

The *Audiencia* in the Spanish Colonies. There were no *audiencias* in Brazil, but in the Spanish colonies they constituted both a territorial subdivision of a viceroyalty and a judicial, administrative, and advisory body. In the capital city of the viceroyalty the *audiencia* was presided over by the viceroy, while in some other places it was presided over by either a captain general or a president, in which case it was often called a captaincy-general or a *presidencia*. The members of the *audiencia* were paid high salaries so that they would be above influence. The members were usually trained in the law and were known for their good qualities. As the conquest progressed, the number of *audiencias* increased until there were thirteen important ones in the eighteenth century. Serving within the *audiencia* structure were several officials whose titles and functions sometimes varied but who were in intimate contact with the natives and the colonists. Among the officials were *gobernadores* in charge of *gobiernos* and *provincias*, *corregidores* in charge of *corregimientos*, and *alcaldes mayores* in charge of *alcaldías*. Their functions were chiefly judicial, financial, and administrative in their respective districts.

The Municipalities in the Spanish Colonies. Colonial towns or municipalities were classified according to their size and general importance; they were all similar in structure, being based on the old Spanish municipality, and they included the territory surrounding the town proper. Some of the towns held charters from the crown and had coats of arms, and many of them were named after saints. In the sixteenth century the colonial towns were theoretically and practically autonomous in their political affairs, but they gradually lost this character in the next two centuries, until near the end of the colonial period their governments were mere hollow, political shells whose officials had some social prestige but little political importance. The landholding white citizens of the towns chose *regidores*, or aldermen, who were known collectively as the *regimiento*. From their number these men selected *alcaldes*, or justices, over whom presided an *alcalde mayor*, or mayor.

Together with other minor officials these men sat in a *cabildo*, or *ayuntamiento*, which was a town council with power to legislate for the municipality. All towns were eventually laid out in uniform fashion according to a royal ordinance dated July 3, 1573.

The Municipalities in Brazil. The Brazilian municipalities were somewhat similar to those in the Spanish colonies. Most of the towns had charters with a governing council called a *senado da camara* or a *camara municipal*, the members of which were chosen by the citizens of the town from among those on an eligible list. The members of this council selected other town officers, including a judge, justices, police, and various civil officials. The powers of the *senado da camara* rapidly declined during the colonial period until it ceased to have local legislative authority and became an advisory body for local affairs to the governor of the province in which it was located.

Administration of Justice

IN THE SPANISH COLONIES. Justice was usually administered locally in the name of the crown. There were courts of first instance in the municipalities and some appeals might be carried to the *audiencia* and then to the viceroy. Some important cases might eventually reach the *Consejo de Indias*, and finally the crown. Cases concerning commercial and maritime matters might be decided by the seaboard tribunals known as *consulados*. Cases concerning questions of religion were usually settled by church officials, although civil officers might take cognizance of certain religious matters which were submitted to them by the courts of the Inquisition.

IN BRAZIL. The judicial system was not so well regulated or so effective in Brazil as it was in the Spanish colonies. At times the judiciary practically ceased to function. The town courts were tribunals of first instance, and appeals might be taken to the governors, to the governor general or to the viceroy, and eventually to the king.

Government Laws and Corruption

IN THE SPANISH COLONIES. The Spanish government was always concerned with laws for the regulation of its colonies. When America was first settled the laws of Spain were taken there. Thus, *Las Siete Partidas* and other codes of law became the bases for Spanish American law. As time passed, new laws were made and old ones were dropped. In the sixteenth century Philip II prepared a code called the *Nueva Recopilación* (1567). This was followed by other codifications of law, the most important of which was the *Recopilación de leyes de los reinos de las Indias* (1680). At the end of the colonial period *La Novísima Recopilación* was compiled under Charles IV. In the colonies themselves many laws originated, and these likewise had to be considered.

In spite of all laws political corruption occurred, especially when the Spanish crown, after the sixteenth century, decreed that public offices should be sold at auction to the highest bidder. In this way incompetent and corrupt individuals got into colonial offices.

IN BRAZIL. The Portuguese government never attempted such a systematic compilation of laws for Brazil as did Spain for her colonies, but during the years from 1580 to 1640 the Spanish legal influence in Brazil was marked. Thereafter, except for a brief period in the eighteenth century when Prime Minister Pombal in Portugal attempted a political house cleaning in the colony (1750-1777), peculation and corruption among government officials were almost universal. As in the Spanish colonies the sale of offices was permitted.

The Intendancy in the Spanish Colonies. After the War of the Spanish Succession, which ended in 1713 with the Treaty of Utrecht, the French House of Bourbon came into control of the Spanish throne, which had been held for nearly two hundred years by the Hapsburgs. One of the French political institutions introduced into Spain was the intendancy. This was taken to the Spanish American colonies when the first intendancy was set up at Havana, Cuba, in February, 1765. In 1786 the system was extended to New Spain when

eleven (later twelve) intendancies were created there. By 1790 the system had been extended to all of the Spanish American colonies.

As a result of this innovation the viceroyalty was divided into districts called *intendencias* with definite boundaries. Over each, an *intendente* was appointed by the crown. His functions were divided into four classes: justice, finance, war, and industry (*policia*). Each *intendente* was immediately responsible to an intendant-general, who in turn was subject to the Council of the Indies. The intendant eventually took over most of the functions of the viceroy except his social duties, and that official became largely a figurehead. It was expected that this simplification of colonial government would raise the general efficiency and honesty of officers, but in reality the intendants had too many duties to perform to carry them all out efficiently and effectively.

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CHAPTER SEVEN

THE COLONIAL ECONOMIC SYSTEM

ECONOMIC ORGANIZATION

The Spanish and Portuguese colonial empires in America, at their greatest extent, included all of South America (except the Guianas at the end of the colonial period), Central America (except British territory in Honduras), Mexico, the West Indies (except certain small islands), and large parts of present-day United States. In this vast territory there existed such a great variety of climatic, soil, and topographical conditions that any product known to man could be grown there.

Both the Spanish and the Portuguese kings owned the land and water in their respective domains as well as everything in the air, water, and land. Whatever they wished for themselves they could keep, and whatever they did not want they could give away. In any case, however, the rulers of both countries recognized a difference between the products of the surface soil (agricultural products) and those of the subsoil (mineral products).

At first, the kings retained one-half of all the products from their colonies, but later, they reserved for themselves only one-fifth (called the Royal Fifth, or *Quinto*) of certain products, usually minerals.

To supervise these great possessions (the *real hacienda*), the monarchs appointed royal treasury officials with wide powers. They were responsible to the kings through the Spanish *Casa de Contratación* or the Portuguese Finance Council (*Conselho da Fazenda*).

Under the mercantile system, as practiced by Spain and Portugal, the colonists (like dutiful children) had to produce what the mother countries desired and were restrained from producing what the mother countries did not want. All the colonies existed for the economic good of the parent country.

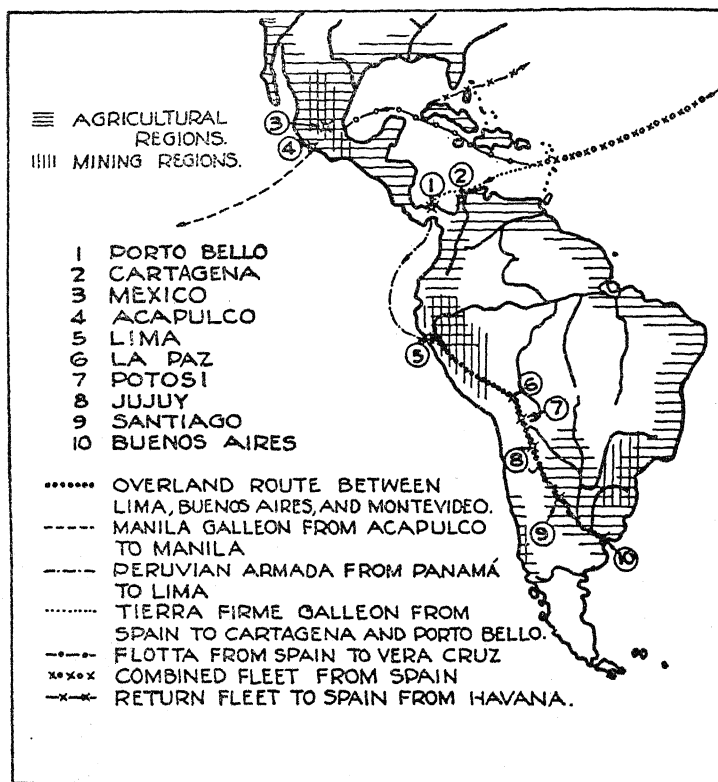


Fig. 25. Colonial trade and commerce of Latin America.

TAXATION

The Spanish and Portuguese crowns expected both a personal and state revenue from the colonies. To the latter end the colonists were taxed for the support of the colonial establishment in America and for the mother government in Europe. As the years passed, both the kings and their governments required more and more funds, and revenues from the colonies had to be increased. Thus, taxes in America not only grew

larger but their number multiplied until there were more than forty kinds of taxes in the Spanish colonies and nearly as many in Brazil. Among these were taxes on trade, sales taxes, stamp taxes, excise taxes, land taxes, property taxes, import and export taxes, church taxes (tithes, Bulls of the Crusades, etc.), income taxes, and taxes on special commodities, such as salt, snow and ice for refrigeration, manufactured articles, etc.

The methods of collecting taxes were often vicious and cruel, and property was frequently seized by force. The collectors, too, were dishonest, and speculation was almost the rule. Often when a tax collector arrived in a community, all of the people fled in fear of their lives.

LANDHOLDING

Since all land in the colonies belonged to the kings personally, they could dispose of it according to their own wishes. Both the Spanish and Portuguese crowns made regulations for occupying, holding, and inheriting land.

In the Spanish Colonies. The founders of towns were called *empresarios*, and they had the right to grant to the citizens lots in the towns and lands outside of the towns. In the towns there were also common lands administered by the town councils. Rural lands were granted by the government to individual families on the condition that they occupy and improve such grants. Small grants of land to small farmers were called *peonías*, while larger grants to important families were termed *caballerías*. Agricultural lands with Indians living on them were called *encomiendas*. The natives here were enslaved or reduced to the status of a feudal serfdom. An *encomienda* was usually granted during the life of the grantee, but this at times could be passed on to heirs. The church might obtain land by bequest and could hold it in perpetuity.

In Brazil. On the great feudal *capitanias* in the sixteenth century, the *donatarios* were empowered to make grants of land to all Christians who applied, while other colonial officers had similar powers. Such grants were called *sesmarias* and were made for perpetuity on the provision that the owner pay one-tenth of the produce of the soil to the crown. Later this

tax was paid in the form of a quit rent (*foro*). The church could acquire land only by bequest. In the north, where great plantations were the rule, the feudal system gradually reduced the small landholder to the position of a feudal serf, if not to that of a slave. In the south, this condition was not so common.

PRODUCTS AND INDUSTRIES

America had been colonized with the hope that great mineral wealth would be discovered. In the case of the Spaniards this desire was fulfilled almost from the beginning. But the colonists in Brazil, for almost a century, looked in vain for minerals.

Mineral Products in the Spanish Colonies. Great quantities of gold and silver were immediately found in Mexico and Peru, and as the conquest progressed new mines were opened. Throughout the whole colonial period, new mines were discovered in sufficient numbers to justify a continuous search for riches. Other important minerals present in the Spanish colonies were quicksilver (Mexico), tin and copper (Bolivia), nitrates (Chile), and some semi-precious stones such as emeralds (Colombia).

In the Spanish colonies, in 1525, mining regulations were issued by the crown. Frequently thereafter, and from time to time, these were carefully revised in the light of needs and experiences. Often these laws contained ordinances for the control of life in mining towns where vice and corruption were rampant and where the cost of living was high. In most mining communities, smelting-houses were established in which royal officials supervised the smelting, weighing, and stamping of the metal.

Mineral Products in Brazil. In the sixteenth century the Portuguese government, in order to encourage the search for minerals, promised a title of nobility to any person who found a mine. In 1618, in anticipation of the finding of minerals, the government issued a detailed code of mining regulations for Brazil. This law provided for the granting of land titles in mining areas and for the smelting of ore in properly supervised furnaces. In 1702 new mining regulations were issued by the crown.

About the middle of the seventeenth century gold was finally found in south central Brazil, and shortly thereafter many gold mines were opened. About 1727 diamonds were discovered in the interior of southern Brazil, and emeralds were found in northwest Brazil. As a result of these discoveries many agricultural regions along the coast were nearly depopulated when their inhabitants joined the gold and diamond rush into the hinterland. These periodic "rushes" brought immigrants from various parts of the world to the colony, and considerably disturbed not only the economic life of the colony but that of the mother country as well.

Agricultural Products in the Spanish Colonies. As early as 1532 the Spanish government decreed that all ships taking colonists to America should carry plants and animals to be transplanted there. Thus, cattle, sheep, swine, etc., and bananas, sugar-cane, grapes, olives, coffee, rice, citrous fruits, and many cereals and vegetables were taken to America. It was not long before several native products, such as the potato, certain beans, and corn, were adopted by the colonists.

Several regions were found to be excellently suited for agricultural production, especially Argentina, Uruguay, Paraguay, Chile, Colombia, Venezuela, and the West Indies. Agriculture became well established even in the mining regions, and before the end of the colonial period Mexico, for example, produced agricultural products of greater value than her minerals.

From time to time the crown compelled the colonists to raise certain products for which there was a demand in Spain, while at other times the production of certain things was forbidden because of the competition they afforded to the disposal of substances produced in the mother country. In the case of tobacco, the government sometimes established a royal monopoly for its production. Another product of the soil which the king often considered his own was timber, of which there was a great variety.

Agricultural Products in Brazil. The chief agricultural products of colonial Brazil were sugar-cane, brazilwood (from which dyes were made), cacao, coffee, tea, vanilla, cloves,

manioc, tobacco, indigo, rice, cotton, various citrous fruits, tropical woods, cattle, sheep, swine, etc. As in the Spanish colonies, a variety of products was introduced into the colony from Europe.

The most prosperous agricultural regions in Brazil were situated in the northern part of the country along the coast, where the establishment of large plantations was the rule. Cattle and sheep raising were carried on chiefly in the uplands and interior of southern Brazil, until mining became more profitable there.

Industries in the Spanish Colonies. Besides mining and agriculture, pearl fishing was an important industry, especially along the Pearl Coast (Colombia and Venezuela), off the Pacific coast of Panama, and in the Gulf of Lower California. Because of the demand for fish as food, off-shore and deep sea fishing were important. In some localities the dairy industry grew in importance during the colonial period. The manufacture of textiles, pottery, jewelry, and furniture, especially by the natives, constituted important industries. The manufacture of wines and liquors was almost an individual industry, as was the making of cigars and cigarets.

Industries in Brazil. Pearl fishing in Brazil never reached the importance which it had in the Spanish colonies, but off-shore and deep sea fishing were important industries. Wine and liquor-making were likewise important occupations, while textile, pottery, and jewelry manufacturing were encouraged and carefully regulated by the government.

LABOR

Indian Labor in the Spanish Colonies. Much to the horror of Queen Isabella, who attempted ineffectively to prevent it, Columbus began the enslaving of the Indians in America. But it was not long before the Spanish government half-heartedly sanctioned native slavery provided the Indians were cannibals or fierce fighters. And since the Spaniards did not always wish to test the nature of the natives, they found it convenient to consider all as fit subjects for slavery. Hence the conquerors, by the *repartimiento* system, divided the Indians among themselves as spoils of war, despite the fact that

the Spanish government by the New Laws of 1542 decreed that the Indians should be paid for their labor and Christianized. In every case the execution of such rules was inconvenient and the natives succumbed by the thousands to the hard labor required of them, while many more were driven to suicide in order to escape from their earthly troubles

Indian labor under the *repartimiento* system consisted of two types: the *encomienda*, in which Indians were employed on farms and in household work; and the *mita*, in which they worked in the mines, in pearl fishing, in transport service, etc. Of the two types the latter was most hated by the Indians, for thousands died in damp, dark underground mines. Finally, in 1720 the Spanish government tried to abolish the harsh system of Indian labor, but in practice it continued throughout the colonial period, and remained for a century more as the peonage system.

Indian Labor in Brazil. The first colonists from Portugal inter-married with the Indians in Brazil and also reduced them to slavery. But in 1570 the Portuguese government decreed that unless the Indians were cannibals or had been captured in war, they must not be enslaved. Many other decrees dealing with native slavery were issued from time to time, but practically no attention was paid to such legislation, since it ran counter to the interest of the colonists. As the result of harsh treatment, the Indians often escaped into the interior or committed suicide in large numbers. In several instances Indian rebellions occurred with all of the attending horrors of racial warfare.

Negro Labor in the Spanish Colonies. The first Negro slaves were probably imported into the West Indies from Africa in 1502, in order to replace the native laborers as Queen Isabella wished. From this date on the Spanish government regularly granted contracts (*asientos*) to individuals or companies to import Negroes into the colonies at an average rate of about 3,000 yearly during the colonial period.

The Negro slaves were generally considered as animals and treated as such. The owners had the power of life and

death over their slaves and many cruelties were perpetrated. Occasionally Negro uprisings took place, but generally the slaves were thoroughly cowed.

The bringing of the Negroes from Africa was filled with all of the preventable horrors of "the middle passage," and often as many as one-half of the Negroes died on the way to the colonies. Once in America, they spread diseases, especially leprosy, and they mingled everywhere with the white and red races in marriage or in clandestine union. It was not until 1789 that the Spanish government made any serious attempt to improve the lot of the Negroes, and then it simply decreed better treatment for them and some educational and religious training.

Negro Labor in Brazil. Because of the high mortality among the Indian slaves of Brazil, the Portuguese government, about 1532, allowed the importation of Negroes from its African possessions, and by the end of the eighteenth century the Negroes in the colony outnumbered the whites by about fifty per cent.

Negro slavery in Brazil was probably not as cruel as in the Spanish colonies, but attempts at civilizing and Christianizing them were of little avail. Numerous slave rebellions took place in Brazil, the greatest occurring in the middle of the seventeenth century, when some 30,000 slaves fled into the forests west of Pernambuco and established the Palmares Republic (Palm Forests Republic). From 1650 to 1695 these Negroes raided the white settlements and carried off white women and other plunder. Finally, in the latter year they were overcome and killed or forced into slavery by the whites.

Skilled Labor in the Spanish Colonies and Brazil. Both the Indians and Negroes furnished skilled laborers in the colonies, and many were freed from bondage because of their exceptional abilities. The two mother countries encouraged their own skilled white laborers to go to the colonies to practice their professions and to teach their trades to the colonists. Though the colonies were generally closed to foreigners, some German laborers went to America in the sixteenth century, and some French laborers entered the colonies in the eight-

eenth century Skilled craftsmen were generally members of guilds, which regulated the quality and quantity of their products.

TRADE

Control of Trade in the Spanish Colonies. Under the mercantile system the Spanish government developed a method of monopolistic trade control which defeated the economic ends it had in view of profiting exclusively from colonial economic exploitation

All trade with the American colonies was confined to the Spanish ports of Seville and Cádiz, while all trade with Spain was confined to the American ports of Havana, Vera Cruz, and Portobelo on the eastern side of the colonies From 1561 to 1748 the Spanish government annually allowed two merchant fleets to be equipped in Spain (in March and April) for trade with the Indies These ships were convoyed to America by war vessels On entering the Caribbean, the fleet divided, one part going to the Isthmus and the other part to Mexico After unloading and loading at Portobelo and Vera Cruz, the fleets met at Havana and began the voyage to Spain, thus completing a round trip within the year

Goods destined for southern South America were shipped across the Isthmus, put on board the Peruvian galleons at Panama City, and taken to Callao (the port of Lima) Then they were carried overland to La Plata and intermediate points Products from these regions were sent to Spain over the same route reversed.

Goods destined for Mexico and the Philippines, were landed at Vera Cruz, carried overland to Mexico City, and thence to Acapulco on the Pacific. There they were placed on the Manila galleons for the East. Oriental products returned over the same route to Mexico and thence to Spain.

Trade between colonies was generally discouraged and often forbidden by law At the chief colonial ports there were finally established *consulados*, or consulates, for the supervision of trade, while the coasts were guarded from illegal traders by *guardas costas* (or coast guards) and by fortifications

Time seemed to be no factor in trade, and all transportation by sea and land was slow. It often took two years for a round trip between Buenos Aires and Spain.

In the middle of the eighteenth century, under Charles III and his successor, the Spanish government, realizing the absurdity of its non-effective trade control and that the French, English, and Dutch merchants enjoyed as large a commerce (although illegal) with its colonies, gradually relaxed its commercial regulations by first abolishing the fleet convoy system (1748) and allowing individual ships to sail for the colonies, and finally (1778) by opening more colonial and Spanish ports to direct trade with each other.

Trade within individual colonies was handicapped throughout the colonial era by poor roads, the lack of bridges, difficult terrain, and by bandits and acts of God. However, the government did what it could gradually to improve river and land transportation, so that by the end of the eighteenth century communication was more rapid and safe.

Control of Trade in Brazil. Portugal like Spain attempted to monopolize the trade of its colony, but it was never so meticulous in maintaining such absolute control. At first, trade was carried on with the colony by individuals or companies acting independently at their own risk, but before the end of the sixteenth century a "caravan system," like the Spanish fleet system, was devised whereby merchant ships were convoyed to Brazil by war vessels. This arrangement lasted until 1765, when the Portuguese crown again allowed individual ship sailings to America.

Foreign merchants, especially Jews, were allowed to settle in Brazil and to carry on trade. Since the colony chiefly bordered the sea coast and since there were many good harbors, it was possible and expedient to carry on a considerable coast-wise commerce. Many Portuguese vessels found it profitable to trade illegally in La Plata. Because of the poor roads in the interior of Brazil, trade was handicapped and at times impossible.

Fairs in the Spanish Colonies. A method employed by the Spanish government to facilitate trade and to supervise

the exchange of products was the holding of fairs in centrally located communities, such as Jalapa, Mexico City, Acapulco, Santa Fe, Saltillo, Portobelo, Cartagena, Lima, etc. To these centers merchants came once a year to buy and to sell goods and to exchange products brought from Spain and elsewhere. Usually a fair lasted several weeks, but the outbreak of a contagious disease often terminated it after a few days. The greatest and most picturesque of the fairs was held after 1597 at Portobelo on the Isthmus. When the fleet came in, merchants from all of the colonies gathered in a tent town built especially for the purpose. Thousands of people attended and the crowds were gay and boisterous, but generally free from thieving. Sometimes exchange was effected by barter, while gold, silver, and other mediums were often accepted as payment. Prices of commodities were generally regulated, but the cost of living at the fairs was exorbitant and profits on necessities of life were often increased to one thousand per cent.

Trading Companies in the Spanish Colonies. As a means of regulating colonial trade in the seventeenth century, and especially in the next century after the failure of the fleet system, the Spanish government created trading companies with monopolistic trading rights in certain regions and with the expressed purpose of underselling merchandise brought to the colonies illegally by English, French, and Dutch traders.

However, it was not until the eighteenth century that these companies were seriously promoted. In 1728 the Qui-púzcoa Company was founded at Caracas on the Pearl Coast to compete with Dutch smugglers in the region. In 1734 the Company expanded its trade to the Mexican coast. The Company existed until 1784, but failed to carry out the aims projected. In 1755 the Barcelona Company was created to control the Spanish trade with the West Indies, but this too proved a failure, as did other similar attempts.

Trading Companies in Brazil. After the middle of the eighteenth century, the Marquis of Pombal, chief minister of King José I of Portugal, began to reform colonial commerce by creating two exclusive companies to monopolize the trade of certain parts of Brazil. In 1755 he founded a company to trade with Maranhão and Pará, and in 1759 he created a

company to trade with Pernambuco and Parahyba. Both companies existed only until 1777 and were not financially successful. However, a third company was later established to trade in regions not affected by the first two companies and to have exclusive monopolies of fishing in Brazilian waters and of supplying the colonists with salt.

The *Asiento* in the Spanish Colonies. For the double purpose of creating revenues for the crown and of regulating the importation of Negro slaves into the colonies, the Spanish government in the sixteenth century instituted the practice of granting contracts or *asientos* to individuals or companies in Spain or elsewhere. Such a contract allowed an individual or a group of individuals, for a fixed sum to be paid in advance to the king, to sell into the Spanish colonies a fixed number of Negro slaves for a certain period of years at a fixed price per slave. The first *asiento* was granted to a Genoese company in 1517. Other contracts were granted to Spanish, Portuguese, French, Dutch, German, and English companies. In 1713, as a result of the Treaty of Utrecht, the English South Sea Company received the right to import into the Spanish colonies 144,000 Negro slaves at the rate of 4,800 yearly for thirty years, and it paid \$200,000 to the Spanish government for the privilege. Included in this agreement was the right of the English annually to send one ship of 500 tons to the fair at Portobelo, where English goods could be sold. The English were also allowed to establish trading posts at Cartagena, Vera Cruz, and Buenos Aires. Needless to say, the English exploited these rights to their fullest extent, and charges of violating the terms of the *asiento* were frequent and probably justified.

FOREIGN ATTACKS UPON THE COLONIES

Because Spain and Portugal attempted to monopolize the trade of their rich American colonies, England, Holland, and France, who were the trade rivals of the Iberian countries, early tried to break this monopoly and succeeded by illegal trade in the regions. Hence, by the eighteenth century, the illegal foreign trade of these three nations in the colonies was greater than the legal trade of the colonies with the mother countries. Moreover, the great wealth of the Spanish and

Portuguese colonies led the European nations to covet their territory, and often colonial towns were seized or destroyed by citizens of foreign states, especially during periods of general European warfare.

Early in the sixteenth century a group of "buccaneers," or "freebooters," established themselves on small West Indian



Fig. 26. European Empires in America, 1795. (Reproduced by permission from *History of the Americas* by H. E. Bolton, published by Ginn & Co., Boston, 1935.)

islands and began a systematic plunder of neighboring Spanish territory. In these bands were men of all nationalities, and they often plundered and murdered merely for the fun of it. Generally their activities were not sanctioned by the governments of England, Holland, and France, yet they often cooperated with these powers in their attacks upon the colonies and they quite often succeeded in demoralizing colonial trade with the mother countries, which was one of the aims of the European enemies of Spain and Portugal.

Attacks Upon the Spanish Colonies

BY THE ENGLISH. In 1588 the Spanish Armada was defeated by England, and Spain lost control of the seas. Even before this disaster, English seamen, including Drake, Raleigh, Hawkins, and others, had begun to "sing the beard of the Spanish king" by attacking his colonial possessions in America. Francis Drake, in 1565, began a career of plunder and illegal trade in the Spanish colonies. In 1578 he entered the Pacific and spread terror among the peoples of the coastal towns. Burning and plundering, he was back in the Caribbean in 1585.

In this and the following century Englishmen seized many small Caribbean islands and gained footholds in Central America and in northern South America. From 1698 to 1700 William Paterson attempted without success to establish a Scotch colony on the Isthmus of Panama. Sir Henry Morgan, Bartholomew Sharpe, William Dampier, Edward Davis, and other English subjects spread terror in the Caribbean in the last half of the seventeenth century.

In the eighteenth century the English pirate, Thomas Colb, and such leaders as Woodes Rogers, Edward Vernon, George Anson, and others made their names feared in both the Atlantic and Pacific colonies by their plundering and seizure of treasure fleets.

BY THE DUTCH. The people of the Netherlands were stirred to make attacks upon the Spanish colonies by the bloody activities of the agents of Philip II in their country. Accordingly, they came with fleets and armies to seize lands for their West Indian Company organized in 1621. They not

only occupied small islands in the Caribbean but they plundered colonial coast towns, seized treasure fleets bound for Spain, and spread terror in the Pacific as well as in the Atlantic. Among the Dutch leaders of the seventeenth century were Piet Heyn, Henrik Brouwer, Van Horn, and other picturesque characters.

BY THE FRENCH. Before 1700, when the French House of Bourbon gained the throne of Spain, French Huguenots, as well as agents of the Catholic French government, became interested in Spanish territory in America. Attempts to settle Florida were made in the sixteenth century by such leaders as Jean Ribaut, René Goulaine de Laudonnière, Jacques le Moyne, the artist, and others. However, the French did not appear in the Spanish colonies in such large numbers as did the English and the Dutch. Besides taking possession of several small islands in the West Indies, the French often collaborated with the English, Dutch, and buccaneers in raiding the Spanish coast towns. Between 1698 and 1703 the French *Compagnie Royale de la Mer du Sur* financed expeditions against the Viceroyalty of Peru

Foreign Relations of Brazil

WITH THE ENGLISH. The government of England was generally friendly with the Portuguese government, but from 1580 to 1640, while Spain controlled Portugal and her colonies, the English considered Brazil as a fair field for attack. In consequence, in this period raids were made upon the colony by Edward Fenton (1582), Robert Worthington (1586), Thomas Cavendish (1591), James Lancaster (1595), Robert Harcourt (1608), and others.

WITH THE DUTCH. One of the chief purposes for creating the Dutch West Indian Company in 1621 was the conquest of Brazil. In 1623 a Dutch fleet under Jacob Willekens and Piet Heyn sailed for Brazil and seized São Salvador da Bahia in 1624. In 1630 Hendrick Loncq captured Pernambuco, and from then until 1661, the Dutch maintained as a possession several of the best provinces of Brazil, with Maurice of Nassau as the first governor. The region was called New Holland and the capital was at Recife, which the Dutch

called "Mauritiopolis" The colony proved profitable to the Dutch but they were finally forced to abandon it and to leave the country.

WITH THE FRENCH. France took an interest in Brazil before Portugal, and Frenchmen had explored the coast and had founded a trading post at Pernambuco before 1530 In 1556 a band of Huguenots under Nicolas Durand built a fort at Rio de Janeiro and named the colony "Antarctic France." The French colonists were finally expelled from the region in 1567. In 1583 the French seized the port of Parahyba, which they held only for a short time In 1612 the Huguenot, Daniel de la Touche, founded a colony on the island of Maranhão which lasted for three years The next century, in 1710, a French force captured Rio de Janeiro but was unable to hold it very long. In 1763, when France lost all of her mainland North American possessions, she turned covetous eyes upon Brazil, and in 1777 she founded a military post at Mayacau However, this and subsequent French attempts were generally failures, and France had to be content with her Guiana territory, which she had acquired in 1626.

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CHAPTER EIGHT

COLONIAL SOCIETY

SOCIAL CLASSES

Social Classes. The classes of society were essentially the same in both the Spanish colonies and Brazil, although the names applied to the several groups sometimes varied

The Peninsulars. At the top of the social scale were the whites born in the Iberian peninsula, who were generally known as "Peninsulars," but who were often called *Chapetones* (wearers of spurs) or *Godos* (Goths) in the Spanish colonies. These persons were frequently of noble birth and were inordinately proud of their heritage. They came to the colonies to hold the highest offices, and they received large salaries and perquisites, lived well, and attempted to maintain a social superiority above the other social groups. In reality, they formed an upper crust in the social structure and they helped the viceroy to maintain a sumptuous court in the viceregal capital. One of the chief ambitions of this class appears to have been to get rich as quickly as possible and then return to Spain and live in luxury for the remainder of their lives. Because of the arrogance of this small caste they were cordially hated by the other social groups.

The Creoles. Just below the Peninsulars in the social scale were the Creoles (called *Criollos* in the Spanish colonies and *Masombos* in Brazil), who were pure blooded whites born in the colonies. This group held many of the lesser offices of small honor and smaller pay. They constituted a growing group. Since the law allowed them equal political privileges with the Peninsulars, they frequently agitated against that

group for the rights which the ruling Peninsulars denied to them. Being educated, intelligent, and dissatisfied, the Creoles constituted, especially in the eighteenth century, a growing threat to the mother countries' continued paternalistic control of colonial affairs. The Creoles and Peninsulars mutually hated each other, and rivalry was general and friction frequent. The Creoles, therefore, sought assistance from the mixed elements in colonial society, which may here be designated as half-breeds.

The Half-breeds. From the first days of the conquest the whites had inter-married with the natives, and this mingling of blood both continued and increased as the colonial period progressed. In the Spanish colonies persons resulting from such unions were called *Mestizos* and in Brazil they were known as *Mestiços* or *Mamelucos*. They were most numerous in the regions where the Indian population was greatest, especially in the viceroyalties of New Spain and Peru and in Brazil. Often this class displayed the worst characteristics of both the white and red races, but there were many prominent colonial leaders from this group.

Another half-breed element in society was the mulatto (called *Mulatos* in the Spanish colonies and in Brazil). Being part Negro and part white, this group was most numerous in the regions where Negro slavery was practiced, especially in Brazil and in northern South America. The mulattoes likewise often inherited the worst traits of both the whites and the blacks, but there were also some prominent colonials among them.

A third half-breed element in colonial society resulted from the mixture of the Indians and the Negroes. In the Spanish colonies this group was called *Zambo* and in Brazil it was known as *Cafuso*. Members of this group were most numerous in Brazil and in northern South America.

The Indians. As already noted, the natives of Ibero-America varied widely in civilization. Some tribes were easily conquered by the whites, while others resisted white control for centuries. In the latter class were the Araucanians of Chile and the Patagonian Indians of southern Argentina, as well as certain fierce tribes on the northern border of New Spain.

In Brazil and in other parts of tropical South America, the natives were of a low type and even to this day remain out of contact with civilization. During the early period of the conquest of America, the Indians were destroyed in large numbers by warfare and disease, but it was not until the natives were completely cowed that they were enslaved and that attempts were made to Hispanicize them. As the colonial period progressed the Indians regained some of their lost rights, and in many localities they were free to come and go as they pleased. However, the life of this social group was a hard one, for they were generally exploited by the whites throughout the colonies.

The Negroes. The Negroes first appeared in the colonies as slaves and most of their race remained slaves until the era of independence. Occasionally Negroes were freed by humane masters, but generally their lot was a hard one. Their presence in the colonies enabled many colonists to maintain the belief that it was undignified and degrading to do manual labor. Later in the colonial period, when attempts were made by the governments to improve the lot of the Negroes, the masters were made responsible for the actions of their slaves and could be punished for their misdeeds. But even then the masters had the right to maim or kill an unruly slave.

POPULATION

In both the Spanish colonies and Brazil the population was scattered over wide areas, and towns were often separated by great distances. In all of the colonies the birth rate was high but the death rate was generally higher, the increase in population being due chiefly to immigration and to the conversion and inclusion of an increasing number of Indians. Population figures for the colonial period are untrustworthy, but some estimates can be made.

In the Spanish Colonies. About 1600 the total white population of the Spanish colonies was probably about 200,000, divided about equally between the Viceroyalty of New Spain and the Viceroyalty of Peru. In this period there were probably some 500,000 Indians classed as civilized.

By 1800 the population numbered some 15,000,000, of whom 30,000 were Peninsulars, 3,000,000 were Creoles, 6,000,000 were *Mestizos*, and the remainder were Indians and Negroes. The population of the viceroyalties is estimated as follows. New Spain, 7,000,000, New Granada, 2,500,000; Peru, 4,000,000; and La Plata, 1,500,000. The largest municipalities were Mexico City with about 140,000 inhabitants, Lima with 80,000, Quito with 70,000, Buenos Aires with 60,000, and Santiago, Chile with 30,000.

In Brazil. At the beginning of the period of Spanish domination of Brazil, from 1580 to 1640, the population of the colony numbered about 50,000. By 1600 there were about 70,000 inhabitants, of whom one-third were white. At this time the region of greatest population was in the north about Pernambuco and Bahia. By 1700 there were perhaps 750,000 people in Brazil classified as civilized. By 1800 the number of inhabitants had grown to about 2,500,000, of whom 400,000 were classed as white, 1,500,000 were Negroes, and 600,000 were Indians. The largest city in the year 1800 was Rio de Janeiro, with a population of about 30,000. By this period the centers of population had shifted to the southern section of Brazil.

RURAL LIFE

In both the Spanish colonies and in Brazil there were great plantations (called *estancias* by the Spaniards and *fazendas* by the Portuguese), comprising thousands of acres of land, on each of which were the palatial home of the owner, the more modest home of the overseer, and the huts of the freemen and slaves. Often, especially in Brazil, there was a close resemblance to plantation life in the southern English colonies on the mainland of North America. Each estate was self-sufficient. Frequently the owner lived on his plantation only a part of the time, spending most of his life in a neighboring town or in the capital city, where comforts were greater. Thus, the estates were often left to the supervision of an overseer who was sometimes brutal and incompetent. The practice of absentee-landlordism, especially in Chile, Mexico, La Plata, and Venezuela, had a pernicious influence upon the social and economic life of the plantation.

In all of the colonies there were small rural landholders, but their wealth was not great and they were frequently reduced to a position of vassalage by the encroachment of the great landowners. Rural life was generally dreary, and whenever possible the countrymen went to the nearest town to take part in the church festivities and other amusements.

URBAN LIFE

In all of the colonies there were many small villages and a few larger towns, but all were social and amusement centers for the people in the surrounding territory. Especially in the Spanish colonies, great care was taken to locate the towns on healthful sites and to lay them out in a uniform manner, each with one or more public squares for the exercise of horses and for the promenade of the citizens. About the principal square were situated the church and religious buildings, government structures, and other important edifices.

Colonial homes, like public buildings, were built with thick walls for protection against the climate and earthquakes. Windows were usually protected by bars and sometimes by shutters. Balconies extended from the upper stories, some being of beautiful iron or stone work, and others of carved wood. The homes contained an interior patio, where there might be a fountain or a well and where, in the case of poorer families, the pigs, chickens, and other animals were kept along with the children and various pets. Sanitary conditions in the towns were generally poor, and epidemics of disease were frequent and serious. The wealthy class imported rich furnishings for their homes, but the other classes made use of whatever could be manufactured locally in the form of furniture and household goods.

AMUSEMENTS

In the Spanish colonies as well as in Brazil amusements were controlled by both the State and the Church in accordance with the paternalistic theories of government practiced by the mother countries. Therefore, it was chiefly in the towns, where the supervising influence of the government and church officials could be best exercised, that amusements and entertainment were provided.

One of the leading colonial amusements was gambling, which became such a vice that the mother governments attempted to control it, but without success, by prohibiting the importation of playing cards into the colonies. Other amusements were bullfights, cockfights, animal torture, jousting, horsemanship, dancing, singing, etc. Vice and crime were rampant, and loose living was extremely common among all classes so that illegitimacy was high. Drinking of alcoholic beverages was universal, as was smoking. Even children engaged in both pastimes from early childhood.

Church holidays and civil holidays were all too frequent, and in some cases it took several days to recover from an unusually strenuous *fiesta*. On the occasion of these celebrations there were fireworks, processions, and the display of physical skill. Night was turned into day, and people roamed the streets in gay crowds, often being showered from the balconies with confetti and paper bags filled with water or colored liquids.

Love-making on the part of young people was carefully regulated. Marriages were arranged by the families of the young people, and the wedding ceremonies were regulated and controlled by the church. After marriage, family life was usually one-sided. The husband had few family obligations and he could form outside attachments with other women. Men seldom were at home except to sleep, and they spent much of their leisure at their club or at places of amusement. Wives seldom went anywhere with their husbands.

Especially in mining towns, where great wealth accumulated, the leading families tried to outdo each other in brilliance of weddings, balls, etc. The women, particularly, attempted to dazzle others by the splendor of their costumes, often going so far to embroider their overshoes with pearls and diamonds. In all of the colonies superficiality and show of worldly goods were almost vices.

One of the milder amusements was the composing of verses and setting them to the improvised music of a guitar or of other string instruments. Frequently poetry contests of this nature were staged for the edification of a newly-appointed royal official, whose praise was sung by the contestants.

Reading was indulged in by the literate Creoles, who became conversant with a wide variety of serious literature and who often engaged in arguments and debates of both a public and private nature. Especially popular reading were the salacious comedies and romances of chivalry imported from Europe, which the mother countries tried to suppress without success.

Another amusement was resting or sleeping, or simply killing time—for time was the greatest enemy of the colonials. In all parts of the colonies the *siesta* in the middle of the day was the rule, and during that period life in the streets ceased and places of business were closed.

Eating and drinking became a ritual among the Creoles and Peninsulars. A whole morning might be consumed in sipping a gourd of yerba mate (Paraguayan tea), or a cup of coffee, or a glass of wine. At mealtime several hours might be spent in eating a many course dinner. Much time was also devoted to conversation and horseplay. Great quantities of meat, fowl, fish, and fruits were consumed by the wealthy classes, while the poorer elements of society lived largely on beans, corn, rice, fruits, etc.

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CHAPTER NINE

COLONIAL CULTURE

THE CHURCH

Both the Spanish and Portuguese kings were nominal heads of the colonial church, and only Roman Catholicism was recognized in the colonies. The popes could not issue papal bulls or other decrees for the colonies without the consent of the Iberian rulers. Moreover, the monarchs had control over the collecting of church revenues and the spending of the church income. In some cases the kings appointed and controlled the church officials. The royal control over the church in America is usually referred to as the *real patronato*.

The Secular Clergy in the Spanish Colonies. For the purposes of religious control the Spanish crown first divided the colonies into northern and southern hemisphere sections in each of which were two archbishoprics (Mexico City, Santo Domingo, Bogotá, and Lima) subdivided into bishoprics. Later, three more archbishoprics were created at Guatemala, Caracas, and Charcas. In all there were thirty-five bishoprics, which in turn were divided into parishes in charge of priests. The secular clergy was continually engaged in preaching and teaching and in the practice of the sacraments.

The Secular Clergy in Brazil. The first bishopric, including the whole of Brazil, was established with the seat at Bahia in 1552. In 1676 Brazil was made an archbishopric with its seat at Bahia, and the colony was subdivided into three bishoprics at Maranhão, Pernambuco, and Rio de Janeiro. Later, three more bishoprics were created. As in the Spanish colonies, the smallest division was the parish in charge of a priest.

The Regular Clergy. The regular clergy—those who lived by rule—constituted the various religious orders including the Jesuits, Franciscans, Dominicans, Augustinians, Carmelites, and several others. These orders were generally in charge of missionary activity and were often the shock troops of the conquest. They were organized under rigorous discipline and were subject to commanding officers in the mother countries. Everywhere the regular clergy converted the natives to Christianity and helped to carry civilization to the most remote parts of the colonies.

When the Iberians first reached the Western Hemisphere, the missionaries immediately began to master the Indian dialects and languages, which probably numbered over a thousand, and they set about preparing grammars of these languages. The difficulties of communication with the natives were often ingeniously overcome by these intrepid men, sometimes at the cost of having the Indians consider them crazy because of the many manual gyrations they practiced in attempting to explain Holy Writ.

Wherever the missionaries went, they founded missions, monasteries, convents, churches, and schools, and they taught the natives useful arts as well as the Christian doctrine. Many of the regular clergy deliberately sought martyrdom in the pursuit of their religious beliefs.

IN THE SPANISH COLONIES. Everywhere in the Spanish colonies the regular clergy aided in advancing the frontier, their efforts being greatest in Florida, New Spain, Paraguay, and on the borders of Peru.

Among the regular clergy the Jesuits were perhaps the most spectacular in their promotion of Indian missions. In Paraguay they segregated the natives in towns (*reducciones*), where they could be more easily Christianized and Hispanized, and where they could be taught useful trades and the practice of agriculture. But eventually this order became rich and worldly from Indian labor; it engaged in trade, it organized the Indians into military forces, and it constituted a threat to the colonial government. Hence, in 1767 the Spanish king, Charles III, expelled the members of this order from Spain and the colonies.

The Franciscans and Dominicans, like the Jesuits, had many representatives in the Spanish colonies, but they did not antagonize the government as the Jesuits did, and therefore they prospered, taking over many of the Jesuit activities

IN BRAZIL Besides the Jesuits, the other religious orders in Brazil were the Benedictines, Carmelites, and Capuchins, who were under the direct control of the Portuguese crown. As in the Spanish colonies, the Jesuits took the lead in introducing the natives to civilization, and as in the Spanish colonies, settled them in towns, especially in southern Brazil, from which whites were excluded. The same complaints, however, were made against the Jesuits in Brazil as in the neighboring colonies, and in 1760 they were expelled from the colony and the mother country by King José I and his minister Pombal.

The Inquisition and the Index. In the Spanish colonies and Brazil the Church established the Inquisition in much the same form as it existed in the mother countries.

IN THE SPANISH COLONIES By the royal decree of January, 25, 1569, the Inquisition was extended to America, where the first tribunals were set up at Lima, Peru (January 29, 1570), at Mexico City (November 4, 1591), and at Cartagena (1610). Although not as active in the colonies as in Spain, the officials of the Inquisition sought out Jews, heretics, bigamists, witches, and others for persecution. No one, except Indians, was safe from its jurisdiction. Among the functions of the Inquisition was that of maintaining a list of books (the Index) which no one might read. Nevertheless, it was possible for certain privileged persons to secure permission not only to read such books but to own them. In the 277 years of activity in the Spanish colonies the Inquisition probably caused no more than one hundred deaths.

IN BRAZIL. During the period of Spanish control in Brazil, the first visitor for the Inquisition came to the colony in 1591. In 1618 an Inquisitor arrived at Rio de Janeiro and made a number of arrests and seizures of property. From 1640 to about 1707 the power of the Inquisition declined, but from the latter year to 1711 some 160 persons were persecuted, of whom

most were sent to Lisbon for trial. However, the Inquisition was never so strong in Brazil as it was in the neighboring colonies, and the use of the Index was never so effective as it was in the Spanish colonies. Generally the Portuguese government was disinclined to exclude from Brazil colonists of non-Catholic faiths, and in consequence, many Jews and Protestants settled peacefully in the country.

Religious Life. The practice of religion in the Spanish colonies and in Brazil was often superficial, and women more than men were affected by the teachings of the Church. The clergy were frequently illiterate, especially in Brazil, and often immoral as well. Hence they sometimes set a bad example for the people, who in some cases lost all respect for the clergy.

In even the smallest towns in the colonies there was at least one church, and in some of the cities there were many more churches than the people needed or could support. In every community the populace was appealed to by the Church through the use of religious festivals, processions, and celebrations of all descriptions. Especially in Indian towns, the ceremonies of the Church appeared inseparable from the old pagan forms of idol worship. It may be safely said that in many communities in the colonies the Roman Catholic religion had broken down and had become devoid of much of its European significance by grafting upon it many non-Christian practices.

Throughout the colonies saints were venerated. In Mexico, the Virgin of Guadalupe, and in Peru, St. Rose of Lima (the first American Saint) were deeply revered by the people.

EDUCATION

Education in the Spanish colonies and Brazil was carried on by the Church with the backing of the government, and it was generally more cultural than practical. Many plans for educational changes were made for the colonies, but these usually remained on paper and were never carried out.

From the beginning of the conquest the Spanish and Portuguese governments planned to educate the Indians—at least to teach them the Spanish or Portuguese languages—but

even though schools for this purpose were early established, only a small minority of natives succeeded in becoming literate. The great mass of Indians converted to Christianity and Hispanicized was taught by missionaries only to repeat phrases in Spanish, Portuguese, or Latin, none of which was understood.

In no case were girls given a formal education in schools, except in convents, and then this was of a superficial nature. Coeducation was unheard of and unthought of, and there were no public schools which both sexes could attend.

Lower Education in the Spanish Colonies. In 1536 the first school for Indian boys was founded at Mexico City. Subsequently, attempts were made in the other colonies to found similar schools of an elementary nature for Indian children, and usually these were attached to some mission. Some schools for white children existed, but often their parents chose to educate them by tutors or to send them abroad in later life. Secondary schools, as known today, were nonexistent, and as a result the system of higher education was at a much lower level than it would have been otherwise.

Lower Education in Brazil. The regular clergy, chiefly the Jesuits, were active in Brazil in founding elementary schools, especially after the sixteenth century. In 1718, in the province of Bahia, there were forty-six elementary schools, and in the same century six "academies" were founded for the education of children in the colonies.

Higher Education. There were no universities in colonial Brazil, but from the beginning the Spanish government took an active interest in higher education in its colonies. In 1538 the University of Santo Tomás de Aquino was founded at Santo Domingo. In 1551 Charles V decreed the establishment of the Royal University at Mexico City and the University of San Marcos at Lima, Peru, to offer courses in theology, sciences, languages, history, and anthropology. Other leading universities founded by the Spanish government in the colonies were at Córdoba (1613), Sucre (1623), Cuzco (1692), Caracas (1721), Havana (1728), Santiago, Chile (1743), and Quito (1787). In most institutions of higher learning students

were taught law and medicine, as well as theology and other subjects, and in the latter part of the eighteenth century they were allowed to study philosophy

University enrolment was generally large, in some instances including several thousand students. The faculties were composed of churchmen, and the chancellors, or presidents, were likewise religious officials. All university officers were subject to appointment by the viceroy, who often taught or served as chancellor. The bachelor, master, and doctor degrees were granted by the universities, and ceremonies used in the conferring of degrees were similar to those employed today.

Many colonials were dissatisfied with the type of education which they could obtain in the colonies, and in consequence some of them went to European universities, especially to the University of Paris, to the University of Salamanca in Spain, and to the University of Coimbra in Portugal.

LITERATURE

Throughout the colonial period, in the Spanish colonies and Brazil, literary production was not only discouraged but practically prevented at times by the activity of the Inquisition, the Index, government regulations, and the lack of available printing presses. Moreover, the cost of printing everywhere was high, and the necessity of publishing a book at private expense tended to limit the number of printed works to persons who could afford the original outlay of funds. However, many works were produced during the colonial period, even if they did not at the time see the light of day in print.

Printing. There were only two printing presses established in Brazil during the colonial period: at Pernambuco from 1701-1706; and at Rio de Janeiro founded in 1747.

The first printing press set up in the Spanish colonies was at Mexico City in 1532. The second press was located at Juli, Peru, in 1579. The first book printed in America appeared at Mexico City in 1539, while the first volume to be

published in Peru appeared in 1584. In the next two centuries, printing presses were established in Mexico, in 1640, 1720, 1764, 1793, and 1794; in Guatemala, in 1660; in Cuba, in 1707 and 1796, in Peru, in 1610; in Colombia, in 1738; in Ecuador, in 1754 and 1760; in Paraguay, in 1705, in Chile, in 1747 and 1776; and in Argentina, in 1765 and 1780.

All of the early presses were under the control of the Church, especially of the regular clergy. Only works of a religious nature or a work approved by the Church could be printed on these presses. Hence colonials were often forced to send their manuscripts abroad, and to risk the hazards of a sea voyage or of loss in transit, in order to have them printed in France, England, Italy, or Holland, as well as in Spain or Portugal.

Poetry. The improvising of poetry in the colonies was a favorite pastime among many groups of people, but only a comparatively few individuals could be classed as important poets or could get their poetry into print. The subjects dealt with by the colonial poets were the same in America as elsewhere. However, the spectacular nature of the conquest of the continent inspired many poets to write epic and heroic compositions in poetry, prose, and drama, some of which have considerable historical significance.

IN THE SPANISH COLONIES. Among the epic or heroic poems written in the Spanish colonies were *La Araucana* by Alonso de Ercilla y Zúñiga (1533-1594), who wrote about the conquest of Chile and whose work was continued by Diego de Santisteban Osorio; *Arauco domado* by Pedro de Oña (b ca 1570), who wrote on a similar topic, *Purén indómito* by Hernando Álvarez de Toledo, who told of his adventures in South America at the end of the sixteenth century; *Compendio historial de Chile* by Melchor Xufra del Águila (1568-1637), telling of his experiences in Chile and elsewhere; *Conquista del nuevo mundo* by Gaspar Pérez de Villagrà (1555-1620), telling of the conquest of northern New Spain; *Elegías de varones ilustres de Indias* by Juan de Castellanos (1523-1605), giving the lives of the early conquerors of America, *La Argentina y conquista del Río de la Plata* by Martín del Barco Centenera (b 1535), telling of the conquest of the Plata

region; *Peregrino indiano* by Antonio Saavedra de Guzmán, describing the conquest of New Spain, and *Lima fundada* by Pedro de Peralta Barnuevo (1663-1743), recounting the story of Peru following its conquest

Another type of poetry dealt with religious subjects and especially with the lives of the saints, while still other poets turned to lyric verse. In the seventeenth century much of the Spanish colonial poetry was dominated by Góngorism (named after a Spanish lyric poet), which was characterized by a polite, polished, and cultivated artificial and metaphysical style

Perhaps the greatest poet of the colonial period was Juana Inés de Asbaje y Ramírez de Santillana (1651-1695) of Mexico, who, as a nun, was known as Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz and who published three volumes of poetry

IN BRAZIL. Poetry in Brazil was dominated by European influences, especially Góngorism, as well as by native and environmental factors. The chief literary center was first at Bahia in the north, but in the eighteenth century Rio de Janeiro became a rival.

As in the Spanish colonies, several heroic poems were written. The two outstanding were *O Uruguay* by José Basilio da Gama, who dealt with Brazil's neighbor and its natives, and *O Caramuru* by José de Santa Rita Durão, who told of the adventures of one of the earliest Portuguese to arrive in Brazil. Both were published in the eighteenth century.

The earliest Brazilian poet to publish a book of verse was Manoel Botelho de Oliveira (1636-1711), who wrote *Musica do Parnaso*. Other outstanding Brazilian poets of the colonial period were Gregorio de Mattos Guerra (1633-1696), and Antonio José da Silva (1705-1739), who was a dramatist as well as a poet.

Prose. The chief prose produced in the colonies was of a serious nature, and many works were scientific and historical treatises. Numerous grammars, dictionaries, and religious works were also written. Comedies, romances, and similar types of prose were generally poor in quality and of little permanent value.

IN THE SPANISH COLONIES. Among the innumerable historical writers native to the Spanish colonies were two of Indian descent who should be mentioned Garcilasso de la Vega (1540-1616), a descendant of the Incas of Peru, who wrote the *Comentarios reales de los Incas*, dealing with Inca civilization, and *La Florida del Inca*, treating of the activities of Hernando de Soto in Florida; and Fernando de Alva Ixtlilxochitl (ca 1568-1648), a descendant of the Aztec rulers of Mexico, who wrote among other things the *Historia chichimeca*.

Other sixteenth century historians born in the colonies were: Juan Suárez de Peralta (b 1536), who wrote on New Spain, Diego Durán (d ca 1588), who wrote about the Indians of New Spain, and Agustín Dávila Padilla (1562-1604), who dealt with the missions of New Spain.

One of the leading scientists born in the colonies was Carlos Sigüenza y Góngora (1645-1700), who lived in Mexico and distinguished himself as a poet, philosopher, mathematician, engineer, cartographer, geographer, astronomer, philologist, ethnologist, archaeologist, and historian

IN BRAZIL. The earliest writer in colonial Brazil was probably José de Anchieta (1530-1597), a Jesuit who compiled grammars, lexicons, hymns, etc. Among the other Jesuit writers were Fernão Cardim (1540-1625) and Eusebio de Mattos (1629-1692). Another historical writer of some consequence was Sebastião da Rocha Pitta (1660-1738), who wrote the *Historia da America portuguesa*

Literary Societies and Periodicals

IN THE SPANISH COLONIES. Many colonial leaders organized and belonged to literary "circles" or clubs in which philosophical, scientific, and literary topics were discussed. The members of these groups often wrote articles and books, and some of the clubs issued learned periodicals

Among the latter type of publication were both magazines and newspapers, although neither were quite of the same nature as modern newspapers and magazines. The leading periodicals were *El Mercurio peruano*, of which the first number appeared at Lima on January 1, 1791; *La Gaceta de Lima*.

printed from 1791 to 1821; *El Telégrafo mercantil*, first issued at Buenos Aires on April 1, 1801; *El Semanario de agricultura, industria, y comercio*, printed at Buenos Aires from 1801 to 1807; *El Semanario de la Nueva Granada*, published in the late eighteenth century; *La Gaceta de México*, printed at Mexico City from 1722 to 1739, *El Diario de México*, begun in 1805; and numerous others

IN BRAZIL. In the eighteenth century many educated Brazilians joined literary and scientific societies located at Bahia, Rio de Janeiro, and elsewhere for the purpose of discussing new philosophies and learning from Europe. Among such groups were the *Academia brazílica dos esquecidos*, founded in 1724; the *Sociedade dos felizes*, founded in 1736, the *Sociedade dos selectos*, established in 1752; the *Sociedade dos renascidos*, established in 1759; the *Litteraria de Rio Janeiro*, created in 1786; and others. Little interest seems to have been shown in the publication of literary periodicals, owing in part at least to the scarcity of means of publication

THE ARTS

Architecture. In both the Spanish colonies and Brazil, architectural development was influenced chiefly by Iberian and European trends modified somewhat in America by the demands of the environment and the skill of native labor

The first Europeans brought to the Indies the plateresque style, in which skilled ornamentation was concentrated about doors and windows, and the gothic style. From about 1550 to about 1650, however, a new trend occurred under the influence of the Herreran style, which caused buildings to be constructed after austere and massive Greco-Roman patterns. During the next hundred years to about 1750, the baroque, or churrigueresque, style was in vogue, characterized by intense and universal ornamentation. This period also saw the spread of the French neo-classical type of architecture to the colonies. But despite all such European influences, everywhere in the colonies the Moslem tradition of architecture, with its characteristic arches and balconies was in evidence

Carving, Sculpture, and Painting. The carving of wood, stone, and metals provided important artistic occupations in

the colonies. The Indians in certain regions showed remarkable skill in these activities and were given considerable encouragement in the practice of them by the Church, which utilized art as an inspiration to worshipers. The Church laid down definite specifications for carvers, sculptors, and painters of religious subjects, requiring them to use certain stereotyped patterns for the production of religious figures. In the making of saints and other religious images, for example, the Church decreed the use of real hair, nails, eyelashes, etc., in order to render them more realistic and as lifelike as possible.

Other artistic pursuits in which the Indians were especially skilled were the making of jewelry, furniture, textiles, and pottery.

Most of the colonial arts were supervised by guilds, which were often closed corporations controlling the membership and regulating the quality and quantity of the artistic output through traveling inspectors. Thus there was as little opportunity for the development of individualism in art as in economic and political affairs. But such supervision was in accord with the paternalistic policies of the mother countries.

Music. Colonial music was generally more profoundly affected by American influences than by European, although the Peninsulars and Creoles chiefly enjoyed European types. Everywhere in the Indies, the Indians had their own peculiar types of musical instruments and their own characteristic music. With the coming of the Negro, new musical characteristics were introduced. Hence nearly every colony developed its own type of music.

In the Viceroyalty of Peru, for example, the Inca influence showed itself in music based on a minor diatonic scale in which songs of sorrow (*yaravi*) and songs of joy and happiness (*marinera* and *pampeñas*) were found. The Negro influence there was shown in the *tendero*. The Incas used instruments, such as the drum, whistling jars, pipes (the *quena*), rattles, whistles, etc., while in Mexico the natives used drums (*huehuetl*), horns, seashells, and flutes (*teponaztli*).

Everywhere in the colonies folk songs were enjoyed, and the colonials with the aid of a guitar readily improvised both

words and music of this nature. Everywhere also, Church music played an important part in developing musical trends and characteristics.

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PART TWO

THE REVOLUTIONS FOR INDEPENDENCE

Three hundred years of colonial life under the paternal tutelage of Spain and Portugal had poorly prepared the colonies of the Iberian states to assume an existence independent of the mother countries. Yet because of world forces beyond their control, which were then manifesting themselves in Europe chiefly owing to the machinations of Napoleon, the colonists, between the years 1808 and 1824, found themselves faced with making a decision as to whether they wished to remain attached to their parents or to sever their connections and strike out for themselves as independent political entities.

The Creoles, who constituted the educated and thinking elements in colonial society, finally resolved, after varying lengths of time in the different colonies, to follow the examples of the English colonists in North America and of the French people in Europe, and to take advantage of the opportunity providentially sent them to strike off the fetters which bound them to royalty, and to declare their independence. But with this decision reached, it became manifest that fighting for their ideals was necessary.

The winning of colonial independence, especially by the Spanish American colonists, was made easier owing to the fact that from 1808 to 1824 the Spanish people were occupied first in fighting the French invaders (1808-1814) and then with civil disorders incident to the restoration of Ferdinand VII, who wished to rule as an absolute monarch.

When Joseph Bonaparte was placed on the Spanish throne by his brother Napoleon in 1808, the cities of Spain organized

themselves into a league for defense, and in 1812 they established a constitution for a limited monarchy with a regency to rule until Ferdinand should return. In March, 1814, Ferdinand was freed by the abdication of Napoleon and he assumed his kingly powers, established an absolute monarchy, and repudiated the Constitution of 1812. This alienated many of his people, and considerable unrest developed in Spain. Finally, on January 1, 1820, the Spanish army rose in rebellion and declared itself for the Constitution of 1812 (now to be called the Constitution of 1820), which Ferdinand, fearing for his crown, agreed to uphold. But it was not long before the king returned to his reactionary methods. Again he was faced with a rebellion, which he was eventually able to put down with the aid of French troops in 1823. Thus his illiberal and absolute regime was restored by 1824.

During the years 1808 to 1814 the people of Spain made several unsuccessful attempts to persuade the colonists in America to help them in the cause which they had in common—that of establishing political equality in the government. But after Ferdinand's restoration, the Spanish crown appeared anxious only to suppress the colonial rebellion, and it opposed any negotiations which looked toward the recognition of independence. But because of Peninsular unrest the Spanish government was not able to spare the necessary troops to suppress the American rebels. The colonists were therefore considerably aided in their rebellion, and the winning of independence was undoubtedly hastened, because of Spain's preoccupation with her serious problems at home.

Thus in the critical years of the first quarter of the nineteenth century the colonists followed their Creole military and political leaders toward the goal of freedom, fighting and negotiating, as the situation demanded, with the mother country. But with separation once achieved, the colonists found it necessary to justify their fitness for independence by organizing stable and workable governments and by showing the world of nations that without either political training or experience they could build national states and maintain their national political equilibrium in the realm of practical politics. Such a task was to prove extremely difficult.

CHAPTER TEN

PRELUDE TO COLONIAL INDEPENDENCE

The ultimate, logical, and inevitable outcome of three centuries of colonial exploitation and repression by the Spanish and Portuguese governments was revolution, which stirred the colonies to their foundations and which resulted in the severing of the ties which bound them to the mother countries. The causes for the revolts of the colonists may be classed as (1) internal and fundamental, and (2) external and immediate. The first class of causes was inherent within the colonial system as practiced by the mother countries, while the second class of causes came from outside the colonial system—it was the breath of liberalism fanning the smoldering embers of internal dissatisfaction into the flames of revolution.

INTERNAL CAUSES

The paternalistic and blighting control of the mother countries over the colonies, as described in previous chapters, constituted the fundamental internal causes for revolt. Under the mercantile system economic exploitation was consistent and continuous, with selfishness rather than intelligence acting as the guiding principle. Taxes were numerous and rates of taxation were high. The whole oppressive colonial economic system was maintained by the combined and coordinated activities of the State and the Church, aided and abetted by the fostering of a social caste system, which held the people of the colonies at various levels of social inequality, and by a system of education which made possible a superficial literacy among a few, but which perpetuated a dense illiteracy among the masses.

In the more worldly-wise English colonies in North America, a state of oppression much less grievous caused those colonies to revolt and seek independence. But in the Spanish and Portuguese colonies there was an appalling degree of contentment among the masses owing to ignorance of any better conditions elsewhere. Not until foreign ideas (which constitute the external causes) came in, did the colonists realize that their own condition was relatively bad. Thereupon, colonial leaders suggested improvements through revolution.

Again, in the Iberian colonies there was an almost universal patriotic fervor for king and pope, and since the State and Church were combined, a criticism of one was a criticism of the other. Daring, indeed, was the colonist who would criticize the acts of his sovereign or of his God. It was only when the Creoles learned that this had happened elsewhere with impunity that they took courage to make such a break with past tradition.

EXTERNAL CAUSES

In the latter half of the eighteenth century the minds of the Creoles in the Iberian colonies were gradually being influenced by events in the outside world. Many of the Creoles were well educated, some having studied abroad in the great universities of Europe. A few had studied in the United States. Once outside of their narrow native intellectual atmosphere and in the more exhilarating atmosphere of European philosophies, these Creoles eagerly breathed the opinions of great leaders elsewhere, and, being philosophical by nature, they began to regard their homelands as ready to profit from the new learning which they had discovered. Hence, about the middle of the eighteenth century the Creoles began to spread their philosophies and doctrines through university students, through secretly printed and circulated pamphlets and books usually in Spanish translation, and through the medium of secret societies organized for the ostensible purpose of debate, study, and scientific experimentation. As a result of this activity, the years from about 1750 to about 1808 marked the growth of colonial self-analysis, with all of the accompanying mental and physical dissatisfaction with exist-

ing political, economic, social, and intellectual conditions and with the hope that an excuse for seeking freedom from the mother countries might be found.

Influence of the American Revolution. Admiration for the United States was expressed in the Spanish and Portuguese colonies from the beginning of our national life. When Spain joined in the war against England, at the time of the American Revolution, she could not convince her own colonies that she was not attempting thereby to aid England's colonies to obtain independence. Some Creoles had traveled in British North America before its independence, and more visited that region shortly after the Revolution. All returned imbued with a new spirit, and all cited as worth copying the military, political, economic, social, and intellectual examples supplied by the young republic. George Washington, Thomas Jefferson, Thomas Paine, and many others were looked to for inspiration. Translations of United States books, pamphlets, and public documents began to circulate in the Iberian colonies. Everywhere there was keen interest in the working of our political machinery and in our success as a state. Everywhere, too, there was a desire to emulate us. What the English colonists could do, the Spanish and Portuguese colonists could also do.

Influence of the French Revolution. The French Revolution, following close on the heels of the American Revolution, gave a concrete example of what an oppressed people could do if they tried concerted effort. Creole travelers from the Iberian colonies had observed in France before the Revolution the wide interest in political and social philosophy. Some Creoles had even participated in the Revolution and had learned first hand the methods of revolution. The works of Montesquieu, Voltaire, Rousseau, Raynal, and many others, as read by the colonists in the original language or in translation, had sown thoughtful seed in the colonial intellectual soil, and the French Revolution stimulated its growth.

Influence of England. From England came the philosophies of Hobbes, Locke, Bentham, Hume, Malthus, and others and the example of a long national struggle for popular political rights. English trade, both illegal and legal, had brought

to the Iberian colonies not only welcome products but ideas expressed in printed works. Some Creoles studied and traveled in the British Isles.

English influence, however, was expressed more concretely and effectively at two points in the Spanish colonies.

AT TRINIDAD In 1797 the English occupied the island of Trinidad off the coast of Venezuela. There, Governor Thomas Picton not only was interested in promoting trade with the nearby Spanish colonies, but he believed that by offering them assistance in munitions and men he could encourage them to rise in revolt, become independent, and perhaps ultimately, for the greater glory of England, attach themselves to the British Empire. The colonists were, however, lethargic and they lacked the proper leaders. In consequence, nothing was accomplished immediately.

AT BUENOS AIRES. Because of enmity for Spain and because of the desire to tap the riches of the Plata region, the British attempted, from June to August, 1806, to take possession of the city of Buenos Aires. But the colonists under the Creole, Jacques Liniers from Montevideo, drove the British out. The next year, in June and July, a second English expedition was prevented from taking the region.

These English attacks influenced the colonists of the Plata region in several ways. (1) they discovered the weakness of their colonial government because the viceroy deserted them in their time of need; (2) they learned their own strength in defeating the forces of a great nation, (3) they learned the use of firearms in self-defence and in aggression, and (4) their experience with the English proved to be a training school for later activities.

Influence of Napoleon. The most immediate external cause of the movements for independence, and the one which fanned the flame of colonial unrest into colonial revolt, occurred in 1807 and 1808 in the Iberian Peninsula.

IN PORTUGAL. Napoleon, to enforce his Continental System, which aimed to close European ports to English trade and thus starve his greatest enemy, ordered Portugal to cease her trade with England, to renounce her alliance with that

country and to declare war upon Great Britain. The Regent John VI was acting for his demented mother, Queen Maria, who attempted to put off Napoleon by protracted negotiations. This the Frenchman would not allow, and in the fall of 1807, he sent French troops into Portugal. They reached Lisbon late in November, but not in time to prevent John, his mother, his wife Carlota, some 15,000 of the Portuguese nobility, and \$50,000,000 of state funds from being put on board British and Portuguese ships and taken to Brazil. On January 25, 1808, the Portuguese refugees reached Bahia in the American colony.

IN SPAIN While Napoleon played with Portugal on the one hand, he played with Spain on the other. In the latter country an unhappy situation existed in the royal family. King Charles IV was a weak, vacillating monarch, little interested in the affairs of government, which he left largely in the ambitious hands of Queen Maria Luisa and Prime Minister Manuel Godoy, who were lovers. The heir to the throne was Prince Ferdinand (later King Ferdinand VII), a young man of weak character. His sister was Carlota, the wife of John VI of Portugal.

When Napoleon, in trying to punish Portugal, demanded certain concessions from Spain, the Spanish king, queen, and minister decided to flee to the American colonies. But at this point, Ferdinand had Godoy seized as a traitor. In the confusion, Charles resigned in favor of his son Ferdinand, who became King Ferdinand VII. Thereupon, Napoleon caused Charles to retract his abdication, and he offered to settle the royal family problems if the members would come to Bayonne in France. There, on May 6, 1808, the principals met Napoleon, who forced both Charles and Ferdinand to abdicate the throne of Spain, which Napoleon gave to his brother Joseph a month later.

News of these events was carried to the Spanish colonies by the agents of Napoleon and Joseph. When these emissaries arrived with the intention of declaring the colonists subjects of Joseph, many of them were seized and imprisoned or sent back to Europe. There was general indignation in the colonies at such high-handed French procedure, and the first reactions

were anti-French and pro-Spanish in character. At first, a patriotic movement to maintain Spanish control began and lasted in the colonies. But it was not long, however, before the Creoles realized that this was the opportunity which they had been longing for, and taking advantage of the difficulties and confusion in the mother country, they began anti-Spanish movements which ultimately resulted in colonial declarations of independence and in fighting to maintain it.

EARLY UNREST AND REVOLTS IN THE SPANISH COLONIES

Minor Revolts. The last half of the eighteenth century in the Spanish colonies was marked by growing unrest among the Creoles, assisted by the *Mestizos* and Indians.

Some unrest was due to trade restrictions, as in the case of the revolt at Caracas, Venezuela, in 1749, when the Creole, Juan Francisco de León, led a protest against the trade monopoly of the Quipúzcoa Company. But for their efforts the revolutionists were executed.

In Chile, in 1776, the Creoles protested against high taxes and the activities of the Church, but they, too, were suppressed.

From 1780 to 1783 the Indians of Peru and neighboring regions, first under the Indian, Tupac Amarú II, assisted by the Creoles and *Mestizos*, and then, after his death, under his cousin, rose in revolt in a fruitless effort to win reforms from the Spanish authorities. In all, probably 80,000 Indians lost their lives in the bloody uprising.

In 1781, while the struggle in Peru was in progress, the Creoles in New Granada (Colombia) rose against unjust taxes, and some of them were treacherously captured and executed. At the same time, another revolt, in which independence was to be declared and a republic established, was planned in Chile by several Creoles and two Frenchmen.

In 1797, at Caracas, a revolt, led by Creoles and stimulated in part by the influence of Governor Picton of Trinidad, failed to win independence.

Miranda's Attempt to Revolutionize Venezuela. One of the most important single attempts, before 1808, to revolu-

tionize a region in the Spanish colonies occurred in 1806, when the great Creole, Francisco de Miranda, a native of Caracas, Venezuela, attempted with outside assistance to land forces on his native soil and to free his country from Spain.

Miranda had served in the Spanish army during the War for American Independence. Afterward, he traveled in the United States during 1783 and 1784. From there he went to Europe, traveled widely, served as an officer in the French Revolution, and finally settled in England, where he devoted himself to winning assistance to revolutionize his country.

Failing to obtain English aid, Miranda again went to the United States to seek help. In February, 1806, he sailed from New York City with a ship containing munitions and about two hundred men, chiefly Americans. In the West Indies he added two small ships to his expedition, and sailed for the Venezuelan coast. Near Puerto Cabello he attempted to put his plans into effect, but his two small vessels were seized by a Spanish fleet, and Miranda fled to the Barbados, where he met the English Admiral, Alexander Cochrane. After discussing plans with Miranda, this British commander agreed to assist him in return for British commercial privileges in Venezuela. Accordingly, from June to August, 1806, Miranda again attempted to land his forces and to obtain local assistance from his compatriots in freeing his native soil from Spain. But with no local cooperation, Miranda was forced to leave the country. Returning to England, he again began to make plans for freeing his homeland.

EARLY UNREST IN BRAZIL

In Brazil, the Creoles, for the purpose of planning reforms, found it practicable to organize themselves into discussion groups, often disguised as literary societies. Some few leaders became prominent as agitators, but none was so outstanding as Joaquim José da Silva Xavier, usually called "Tiradentes," or tooth-puller, since he was a dentist.

This first martyr of Brazilian independence was virtually a self-made man, interested in dentistry, medicine, minerology, and engineering, all of which professions he practiced in an effort to earn a living. He also served in the army for a time.

Tiradentes traveled widely in Brazil and had occasion to meet many persons and to make many influential friends. He also read widely and became acquainted with European philosophies, so that at last he decided to win the freedom of his native land from the mother country. Associated with Tiradentes were many Creoles, literary and professional men, poets, merchants, miners, and army officers. These conspirators laid detailed plans for an independent state. But the plot was discovered by the government, and Tiradentes was arrested at Rio de Janeiro on April 10, 1789. After a long trial, in which Tiradentes took all of the blame, he was executed by hanging on April 21, 1792.

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CHAPTER ELEVEN

INDEPENDENCE OF SPANISH NORTH AMERICA

In 1808 the Spanish possessions in North America comprised the Viceroyalty of New Spain and included Mexico proper, present-day Central America (except Panama), portions of the West Indies, the Philippine Islands, and the Spanish territory within the present limits of the United States. This vast region did not gain independence all at once, and the movements for independence within it were scattered and frequently unrelated.

INDEPENDENCE OF THE ISLAND OF HAITI OR SANTO DOMINGO

Even before 1808 a part of this region declared its independence of European control. This was the island of Haiti, originally called Española by Columbus, who set up its first government.

In 1795, by the Treaty of Basel, France gained possession of the whole island, which at that time was virtually under the control of the Negro Toussaint L'Ouverture, who had forced the inhabitants to submit to his rule. On July 1, 1801, Toussaint adopted a constitution for the country and declared the island independent of all foreign control.

But Napoleon had plans for using the country as a base for his occupation of the recently acquired territory of Louisiana. In consequence, he sent troops to occupy the island, but the Negroes and yellow fever defeated him. He did, however, seize Toussaint in May, 1802. Toussaint's place was taken by

Henri Christophe and Jacques Dessalines On January 1, 1804, the country was again declared independent under the name of the Republic of Haiti, and General Dessalines became governor for life and later Emperor Jacques I It was, however, not until 1825 that the French acknowledged the independence of the western part of the island as the Republic of Haiti

Meanwhile, in 1806, the Spaniards regained the eastern portion of the country, or Santo Domingo, which, in 1821, came under the influence of Bolívar's Colombian government, declaring its independence from Spain on November 30 of that year. But in January, 1822, President Boyer of Haiti forceably attached Santo Domingo to the Haitian republic, of which it remained a part until 1844

INDEPENDENCE OF MEXICO

Beginnings. In 1808 the Viceroy of New Spain, José de Iturrigaray, took over the government in the name of Ferdinand VII and refused to take orders from the representatives of Joseph or Napoleon. Later, he refused to accept orders from the Spanish people's government, and in consequence of this, on the night of September 15, 1808, a group of Mexicans, called the "Volunteers of Ferdinand VII," made the viceroy a prisoner. He was succeeded in office by Pedro de Garibay, nearly eighty years of age and feeble Dissatisfaction among the Creoles increased and the agents of the French secretly encouraged the unrest. Again the "Volunteers of Ferdinand VII" intervened and asked the Spanish government to send a more suitable representative. In July, 1809, therefore, Garibay was followed by Archbishop Francisco Xavier de Lizana, also aged and infirm. Again the Creoles plotted revolt, but it was discovered The viceroy was then replaced in August, 1810, this time by General Francisco Xavier Venegas, sent from Spain Thus dissatisfaction steadily increased, and the Creoles began to plot ways and means of winning independence, or at least reforms.

Miguel Hidalgo. One of the Creole leaders who seems to have been content with seeking reforms rather than independence was the priest of Dolores, Miguel Hidalgo. Longing for political, economic, and social betterment, he plotted with

friends to seize the colonial government officers and to institute the desired changes. The uprising was planned for October, 1810, but the plot was discovered and on September 16, Hidalgo assembled his parishioners and other followers, took as his slogan, "Long live our Lady of Guadalupe! Perish the Government! Perish the Spaniards!" and began to seize the neighboring towns. Marching from place to place, freeing

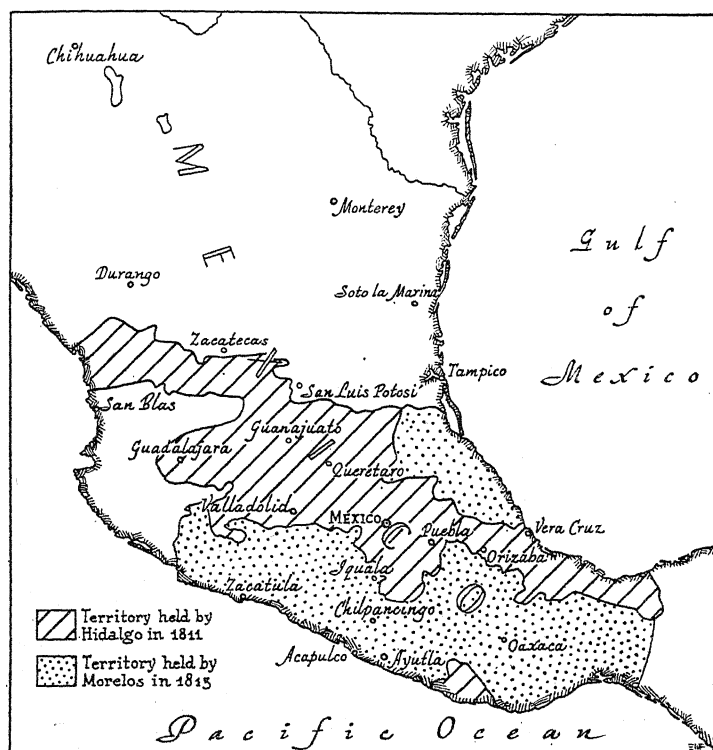


Fig. 27. Mexican territory in control of revolutionists, 1811 to 1813.

prisoners from jails, and promising reforms, Hidalgo and his followers won over several of the central provinces of Mexico. At Guadalajara, Hidalgo organized a government, abolished slavery, and restored the lands to the Indians. But on January 17, 1811, Hidalgo was defeated by the viceroy's forces and forced to flee. Shortly afterward, in attempting to go to the United States for aid, Hidalgo was captured (March 21), con-

demned by the Inquisition, tried by the government, and shot on July 26, 1811. Hidalgo had not proclaimed the independence of Mexico.

José Morelos. A follower and student of Hidalgo was the Creole priest, José Maria Morelos, who gave up his profession to head the patriots' cause after the death of their leader. From 1811 to 1815 he revolutionized the central provinces of Mexico from the Pacific to the Caribbean. In November, 1813, he convened a congress at Chilpancingo which declared Morelos head of the government and commander-in-chief of the army. At the same time, a declaration of independence was issued on November 2, 1813, and a constitution was promulgated on October 22, 1814. The patriots abolished slavery and class distinctions, corrected tax abuses, and made plans to raise a state militia. But in December, 1813, Morelos was defeated in trying to take Valladolid. Pursued by the royalists under Agustín de Iturbide, Morelos gave up his executive authority although he retained command of the army. Like Hidalgo, Morelos was condemned by the Inquisition. When he was finally captured late in 1815, he was tried by the government and shot at Mexico City on December 22, 1815. He had, however, declared Mexican independence.

Francisco Xavier Mina. With the death of Morelos the patriots only half-heartedly continued to fight in guerrilla bands which were never able to coöperate. Finally, however, there landed on Mexican soil at Soto la Marina on the Caribbean a Spaniard who had ambitions to free Mexico from the tyranny of Spain. This man was Xavier Mina, who was born in Spain, had fought against the French invaders, and was captured by them and sent to prison in France in 1811. In 1814 he was freed and he returned to Spain only to fight against the illiberal King Ferdinand. Forced to flee because of this, he went to England, and in 1816 he sailed for America with men, money, and munitions, hoping to aid the patriots of Mexico. At Baltimore he recruited more men and sailed for the West Indies and then to the Texas coast, again adding men and supplies. From Texas he went to Soto la Marina, arriving on April 15, 1817, with the title "General of the Relief Army of the Republic of Mexico." Marching inland with three

hundred men, he was at first victorious, but soon he was defeated by the viceroy's forces, captured, and shot on November 11, 1817. Again patriot opposition degenerated into guerrilla warfare, lasting until 1820.

Agustín de Iturbide. Fighting on the royalist side, because he thought it would win, was the Creole, Agustín de Iturbide, who was responsible for several royalist victories over the patriots. A soldier by profession, Iturbide was always interested in his own personal aggrandizement. Therefore, in 1820, when he saw an opportunity to promote his ambitions, he deserted to the patriot cause. On February 24, 1821, at the town of Iguala, Iturbide issued his scheme for an independent Mexican state with a constitution outlined in his "Plan of Iguala." To put his new government into effect he corresponded with the viceroy, but that official declared Iturbide an outlaw and took steps to crush the patriots.

In July, 1821, a new viceroy, Juan O'Donojú, came from Spain. Without authority he reversed the policies of his predecessor and agreed, in the Treaty of Córdoba (August 24, 1821), to recognize the independence of Mexico. On September 27, Iturbide entered Mexico City in triumph. When the Spanish government learned of these conditions, it refused (February, 1822) to recognize either the treaty or independence. But by then it was too late, for on February 24, 1822, Iturbide assembled a national congress at Mexico City, and on May 19, this body declared him emperor as Agustín I of an independent Mexican empire. Thereafter, his family was ennobled, and his image was stamped on the coin of the realm.

Hardly had these steps been taken when revolt broke out under Santa Anna and others, and on March 19, 1823, Iturbide was forced to abdicate and leave the country. However, in July, 1824, he secretly returned to Mexico, was recognized, captured by the government, and shot on July 19.

INDEPENDENCE OF CENTRAL AMERICA

José Matías Delgado. The colonial population of Central America was widely scattered, and the strong arm of the Spanish government was felt less there than in many parts

of the Spanish colonies. Hence there was comparatively little unrest in this region at a time when the other colonies were fighting for their independence.

Between 1811 and 1814 the chief disturbances were instigated largely by the Creole, José Matías Delgado, a native of San Salvador, who was not only a lawyer but a priest. Joining with other priests and with Manuel José Arce, he organized a revolt for independence which commenced on November 5, 1811. Removing the Spanish officials from office, the patriots proclaimed the national independence of San Salvador. But the Spanish authorities in Guatemala quickly suppressed the uprising, and transferred Delgado to Guatemala as a prisoner, where he fomented further unrest and continued unsuccessfully to agitate for independence.

When news came from Spain of the promulgation of the Constitution of 1812, many Creoles in Central America wished to adopt its principles and to remain within the Spanish empire. But when news of the restoration of Ferdinand VII reached them in 1814, their plans collapsed. It was not until the Creoles learned of the Revolution of 1820 in the Peninsula that they again successfully planned revolt.

José Cecilio del Valle. In 1820 the Creoles were divided into two groups. One party, to which Delgado belonged, wished an immediate declaration of independence, and to promote its ideas, it began to publish a periodical called *El Editor Constitucional*, founded by Pedro Molina. The other party believed that the time was not yet ripe for independence, and it published a periodical called *El Amigo de la Patria* under the leadership of José Cecilio del Valle.

But when Iturbide in Mexico, in February, 1821, announced his Plan of Iguala for an independent Mexican government, the Central American Creoles decided to follow his example, and on September 15, 1821, a declaration of independence, drafted by del Valle, was issued at Guatemala City. The revolutionists temporarily adopted the Spanish Constitution of 1820.

Union with Mexico (1822—1823). However, an independent Central America was destined at this time to be short

lived, for hardly had a government been organized when Iturbide invited the people of Central America to join his empire. Most of the Creoles accepted his offer, but San Salvador under Delgado's influence refused on the ground that such a step would nullify Central American independence. Thereupon, Iturbide attempted unsuccessfully to establish unity by force.

Central America Wins Complete Independence. The union with Mexico proved generally unsatisfactory for all concerned, and because of the continual agitation of Delgado and the abdication of Iturbide there was finally convened at Guatemala City on June 24, 1823, a constitutional assembly, with Delgado as president, which, on July 1, issued a declaration of independence and created "The United Provinces of Central America," composed of five provinces. After the formulation of a constitution, adopted on November 22, 1824, a national Central American congress was finally assembled on February 25, 1825, which elected Manuel José Arce the first president of the new state.

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CHAPTER TWELVE

INDEPENDENCE OF SPANISH SOUTH AMERICA

The independence of Spanish South America was achieved not as a concerted unified movement but by scattered groups of patriots attempting to win freedom from the mother country by force of arms, and in some cases by force of words. Since the greatest stronghold of Spain in South America was in Peru, it was to be expected that that region would be the last to win independence. And it was not until patriot invaders from the north and from the south entered Peru that that country was finally freed from Spanish domination and that Spanish South America became free forever.

INDEPENDENCE OF NORTHERN SOUTH AMERICA

Miranda Returns. Miranda had returned to England after his failure to revolutionize Venezuela in 1806. But he had not given up hope of aiding his people; he only waited for them to begin the movement, and then he planned to return to assist them.

When news reached Venezuela that Napoleon had replaced Ferdinand by Joseph, the Creoles gradually made plans to seize their opportunity and to separate from Spain. Accordingly, the patriots of several provinces, with those of Caracas leading, convened in March, 1811, a congress which on July 5 of that year declared the independence of Venezuela from Spain. On December 21, 1811, they promulgated a constitution.

Meanwhile, in 1810, Miranda had heard the patriots' call and had returned to take part in their activities. When the

new government appointed him commander-in-chief of the patriot forces, he set out to compel the remaining provinces in Venezuela to join the patriot cause. But reverses followed. Suddenly on March 28, 1812, an earthquake rocked the patriot

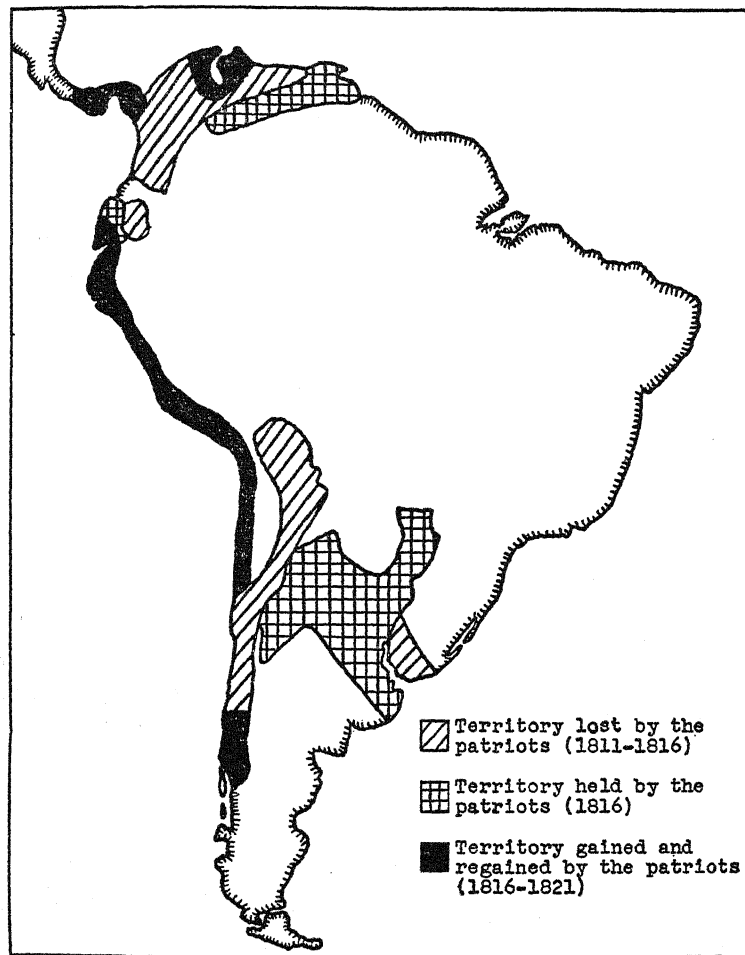


Fig. 28. Spanish South America: Areas of Revolutionary Activity, 1811 to 1821.

provinces, killing twenty thousand people and demoralizing the patriot forces. Since the royalist provinces had not been affected by this disaster, the Spanish government sent priests to tell the revolutionists that this was an act of God to show his displeasure at their rebellion.

In consequence, Miranda's army dissolved, and although he was made head of the patriot Venezuelan government on April 4, 1812, he was finally forced to sign a capitulation with the Spanish commander at San Mateo on July 25. All subsequent attempts to reassemble his army failed, and Miranda decided to seek aid abroad. But on July 31, 1812, just before embarking, Miranda was seized by a group of men, including Simón Bolívar, as a traitor and deserter of the patriot cause, and shortly thereafter he was turned over to the Spaniards. In 1813 Miranda was confined in a dungeon in Puerto Rico, but the next year he was removed to Spain, where he died on July 14, 1816, in a dungeon at Cádiz. Thus did fate misuse the great Precursor of South American independence.

Simón Bolívar Frees Venezuela and Colombia. The Creole, Simón Bolívar, like his friend Miranda, was a native of Caracas. With the wealth left by the early death of his parents he was educated in Spain and traveled widely in Europe and the United States. In 1807 Bolívar returned to his estates in Venezuela to live the life of a rancher. But in 1810, heeding the patriots' call, he was sent to England as one of three commissioners to endeavor to obtain aid. Failing in this, he returned to his native land and with several others seized Miranda. This unjustified act left Bolívar the leading Creole patriot.

But finding that the patriot cause in Venezuela was hopeless for the present, Bolívar, in December, 1812, went to Colombia (or New Granada), where he offered his services, and early in 1813 he defeated several royalist forces. Then marching overland across the Andes into Venezuela, the patriots fought their way to Caracas, which Bolívar entered on August 4, 1813. Meanwhile, Bolívar had declared "War to the Death" (June 8), thus giving no quarter and expecting none.

In January, 1814, the Second Venezuelan Republic was created, and Bolívar became its head with the title of "Liberator." But the royalists, under the brutal José Tomás Boves and others attacked the revolutionists under Bolívar, Santiago Marino, Campo Elias, and others, and on July 10, 1814, the Spaniards captured Caracas. Forced to flee, Bolívar went

again to Colombia, arriving at Cartagena on September 25. Once more in command of the patriot forces, he occupied Bogotá and established a government with himself as head.

However, royalist successes caused Bolívar to leave Colombia a second time; he resigned the command of the army and in May, 1815, went to Jamaica to obtain aid.

Meanwhile, in April, 1815, Venezuelan royalists under Tomás Morales were reinforced by fresh troops from Spain under Pablo Morillo, and the patriot forces under José Antonio Páez were hard pressed. When Bolívar learned of these facts, he obtained assistance from Haiti and sailed for the island of Margarita, which he planned to use as a base of attack upon the Spaniards. But this expedition was not permanently successful, and in March, 1816, Bolívar again returned to Haiti for aid.

At last, in January, 1817, the Liberator returned to Venezuela, captured several towns, and with the aid of Páez overran much of the Orinoco River valley by the end of 1818. On November 20, 1818, at Angostura, the independence of Venezuela was again proclaimed. However, the patriots were prevented from taking Caracas by the Spanish General Morillo.

Fortunately for the patriot cause, there now began to arrive in Venezuela the first of some six thousand soldiers of fortune from Great Britain, recruited by the Venezuelan agents in England headed by the Creole, López Méndez. With a mixture of these and patriot troops Bolívar, late in June and early in July, 1819, marched across the Andes into Colombia in a most spectacular maneuver. There he surprised the royalists and defeated them at the Battle of Boyacá (August 7, 1819). This great victory was a turning point in the independence movement in Colombia. On August 10, at Bogotá, the Republic of Colombia was proclaimed, and on December 17, 1819, a constitution was promulgated for the "United States of Colombia," to include Venezuela, with Bolívar as president.

During 1820 and part of 1821 Bolívar was chiefly engaged in reorganizing his forces for the final struggle. In this he was aided somewhat by a brief armistice with the enemy. But in April, 1821, the war began again. Finally, on June 24, 1821, the patriots and royalists met at the great Battle of Carabobo.

in Venezuela. The latter were decisively defeated and Venezuela was practically free. This victory marked a turning point in the independence movement in Venezuela. On August 30, 1821, a new government was established which united Colombia and Venezuela, and on October 3, Bolívar became its head. His next plan was to free Ecuador and to attach it to this new state.

Sucre Frees Ecuador. The Creoles of Ecuador, and especially of Quito, attempted an uprising in the middle of 1809, but by October they were put down by the government. Again in 1810 they rose in rebellion, but were crushed. Nevertheless, in December, 1811, the patriots succeeded in issuing a declaration of independence, although by the end of the next year they were again subdued. Thereafter, the country remained generally quiet until 1821.

In May, 1821, Bolívar's right-hand assistant, the able Creole, General Antonio José de Sucre, reached Guayaquil to carry out the Liberator's plans to revolutionize Ecuador. Sucre brought with him Colombian and Venezuelan troops, but they were not successful until after they were joined by some 1,200 men sent by San Martín from Peru. After considerable maneuvering, the Spaniards and patriots faced each other on May 24, 1822, at the decisive Battle of Pichincha. In this conflict Sucre won a great victory, and the independence of Ecuador was assured. A few days later (June 16, 1822), Bolívar reached Quito and soon persuaded the patriots to join with Colombia and Venezuela in his Republic of Gran Colombia. From Quito, Bolívar went to Guayaquil to meet San Martín and to decide the future fate of the independence movement in South America.

INDEPENDENCE OF SOUTHERN SOUTH AMERICA

Independence of Argentina. The defeat of the British attacks upon Buenos Aires in 1806 and 1807 had inspired the local patriots with considerable self-confidence. Hence, when news reached them of the accession of Joseph to the Spanish throne, many Creole leaders became interested in winning early independence from the mother country. On May 20, 1810, under the leadership of Manuel Belgrano and other

Creoles, a demand was made that the viceroy resign. The Spaniards attempted to compromise, but on May 25, 1810, the Creoles overthrew the viceregal government and set up a supreme governing council to rule in the name of Ferdinand VII. At the same time, they sent to England for aid.

With Buenos Aires in Creole control, the next step was to revolutionize the outlying parts of the viceroyalty. Accordingly, troops were sent into Bolivia, Paraguay, and Uruguay, but in all three regions the Buenos Aires forces were eventually unsuccessful. Bolivia was defended by Spanish troops sent from Peru, the people of Paraguay decided that they wished to remain free from all outside influences; and Uruguay became a bone of contention between local factions stirred by José Artigas and the covetous influences of Brazil and Buenos Aires, and it did not become independent until 1828.

Meanwhile, in Buenos Aires several Creole leaders, including Cornelio de Saavedra, Mariano Belgrano, Bernardino Rivadavia, and others, attempted to decide whether the monarchical or republican form of government would best meet their needs and whether or not complete independence from Spain should be proclaimed.

While leaders of the metropolis were thus engaged, the Creoles of the provinces were gradually coming to desire complete independence from the mother country. Accordingly, a congress of representatives of the provinces was assembled at Tucumán on March 24, 1816, and on July 9, the delegates declared absolute independence from the mother country and organized themselves into the United Provinces. However, the immediate future of the new state was to be marred by the growing rivalry between the province and the city of Buenos Aires on the one hand and the thirteen interior provinces on the other.

San Martín and O'Higgins Free Chile. While the Argentines were trying to settle some of their perplexing problems there appeared in their midst at Buenos Aires in 1812, a native son of the country, the Creole, José de San Martín, who had served in the Spanish army and navy since 1789 and had won fame for his military ability. Avoiding politics, San Martín saw that he might best serve the Creole cause by attempting

to drive the Spaniards out of their greatest stronghold in South America—Peru. Accordingly, he asked to be appointed governor of the Argentine Province of Cuyo at the eastern border of the Andes, where he proposed to prepare a well drilled and well equipped army which he might lead into Chile, and using that country as a base, strike at Peru by sea. Thus, from 1814 to the end of 1816, San Martín molded a cosmopolitan body of men into a military machine. In this he was aided somewhat by Chilean patriots, especially by the Creole, Bernardo O'Higgins.

This Chilean revolutionary, whose father had gone to Spain from Ireland and had later become viceroy of Peru, had been a friend and student of Miranda in England, where he had been sent for an education and from which he had returned imbued with ideas of freedom. But the Creoles in Chile, led by Juan Martínez de Rozas, José Miguel Carrera and his two brothers, and Bernardo O'Higgins, and others, had been unable to agree on common methods of revolution, and had in consequence not only quarreled among themselves but, because of their mutual dissension, had been defeated by the royalists and forced to flee from the country in 1814. Many of these patriots joined San Martín in Cuyo.

At last, San Martín was ready to cross the Andes with his army, and on January 17, 1817, he began his advance, dividing his forces into two parts, each going by a different pass across the great mountain barrier. After overcoming tremendous difficulties, his men assembled on Chilean soil, surprised the royalists and defeated them at the important Battle of Chacabuco near Santiago on February 12, 1817. The next day the victorious patriots entered Santiago, and San Martín was offered the headship of the Chilean government. But he declined this honor in favor of O'Higgins, preferring to remain in command of the army.

Until the end of 1818 the Chilean patriots were engaged in fighting the remaining Spanish forces in the country. During this campaign O'Higgins declared the absolute independence of Chile at Talca on January 2, 1818. The second and last great battle in the Chilean revolution occurred at Maipó on April 5, 1818. Thereafter eventual victory was certain.

San Martín Invades Peru. Meanwhile, San Martín had returned to Argentina to obtain men, money, and munitions for his attack upon Peru. While he was thus engaged, O'Higgins had begun to assemble a fleet which could be used both as a patriot navy and as transports to carry San Martín's troops to Peru. Fortunately for the patriot cause, the Englishman Thomas Cochrane, Miranda's friend, was now employed to organize and command this fleet.

By the end of 1819 San Martín had an efficient navy and a well trained army of six thousand men, and he began his plans for the attack upon Peru. Finally, on August 20, 1820, the expedition got under way with the army on board Cochrane's fleet. On September 7, troops were landed south of Lima on the coast of Peru, but failing to revolutionize that region, San Martín reembarked his men and took them several miles north of Lima, where they were again landed. Now began a period of troop maneuvering and diplomatic correspondence which was generally more favorable for the royalists than for the patriots.

Such results were due to the fact that the Spaniards in Peru had so complete a control over the country. The early Creole uprisings (1808 to 1813), in part under the inspiration of José de la Riva Agüero, had been thoroughly crushed, and several Creoles had either been banished or had found martyrdom in death. An Indian uprising in 1814 and 1815 had been horribly put down. Thereafter, there was little opportunity for the Creoles to agitate even for reform, let alone for independence.

Because of the conditions which he found in Peru, San Martín sought to negotiate with the viceroy early in 1821. Failing to accomplish his aims in this manner, he decided to fight, and on July 9, 1821, his forces entered Lima, where on July 28, he issued a declaration of independence from Spain. On August 23, San Martín was named "Protector" of the new Peruvian government. But since only a small portion of the country was in patriot hands, three more years were to pass before Peruvian independence could be made good.

INDEPENDENCE OF PERU AND BOLIVIA

San Martín and Bolívar Meet. After Sucre had defeated the royalists at the Battle of Pichincha (May 24, 1822) with the aid of troops sent by San Martín, he and Bolívar planned to move into Peru and to assist the Argentine general. Both Bolívar and San Martín had corresponded, and the former invited the latter to meet him at Guayaquil, Ecuador, in July, 1822. Accordingly, on July 26 and 27, the two great South American military leaders came together for the first time. What happened at this conference is not completely known. But shortly after it terminated, San Martín returned to Lima, said farewell to the Peruvians on September 20, 1822, and returned to Chile. Unfortunately, conditions there prevented his staying, and he, therefore, went to Buenos Aires. But conditions there, likewise, were not to his liking, and with his daughter he sailed for France, where he died in 1850 at Boulogne. He had fulfilled his role in helping to win the independence of South America.

Bolívar and Sucre Free Peru. In Peru, Bolívar and Sucre began immediately to make final plans to win the complete independence of the country. After months of maneuvering, the patriots and royalists faced each other at the Battle of Junín on August 6, 1824. This patriot victory was followed on December 9, 1824, by a more decisive victory at the Battle of Ayacucho, which was won by Sucre while Bolívar was away seeking reinforcements. This was the last great battle in South American independence, although the last of the Spanish troops were not driven from the country until January, 1826.

Bolivia Becomes Independent. Upper Peru, or Bolivia, like coastal Peru, was freed by revolutionists from the outside. Scattered Creole uprisings from 1808 to 1814 were unsuccessful, although on July 16, 1809, the Creoles at La Paz declared for separation from Spain and for war if necessary. In 1810, and again in 1815, forces from Argentina failed to revolutionize the country. Finally, in 1822 Bolívar took an active interest in Upper Peru, and in that year and the next, two successful expeditions were sent into the region. It was, however, not until after the patriot victories at Junín and Ayacucho in Peru that the royalists could be defeated in Upper Peru.

Finally, on January 5, 1825, the Bolivians proclaimed their independence at La Paz and on April 1, 1825, the royalists were at last defeated. Meanwhile, Bolívar had been declared the "Father of Upper Peru," and on August 25, 1825, the country took the name of Bolivia in honor of the Liberator. The next year a constitution was adopted which Bolívar planned, and the country was launched on its career of national existence.

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CHAPTER THIRTEEN

INDEPENDENCE OF BRAZIL

THE ROYAL PORTUGUESE FAMILY IN BRAZIL

When Napoleon's troops caused the Portuguese royal family to leave Lisbon in November, 1807, they sailed with British ships to Brazil, arriving at Bahia on January 25, 1808. But finding that region too tropical in climate they moved on to Rio de Janeiro, which they reached on March 8.

The Regent John was surprised to find his colony so backward, and he took immediate steps to modernize it and to repeal colonial restrictions. Soon he had founded schools, a printing press, a bank and a mint, factories, hospitals, a national library, etc. Health conditions were improved, and vaccination for smallpox was introduced. Rio de Janeiro was made the capital and the city was beautified with broad streets and numerous parks. Foreign immigration was encouraged, and artistic and scientific projects were planned.

On December 16, 1815, the colony was given the title of Realm and made a part of the "Kingdom of Portugal, Brazil, and Algarves." When the demented Queen Maria died on March 20, 1816, the Regent became John VI. He surrounded himself with a royal court, and to the disgust of the Creole Brazilians, he placed many of the Portuguese nobles in local offices. Commerce was increased, but the financial situation remained unsatisfactory, in part because of a costly conflict with Argentina over Uruguay, which region was finally attached to Brazil as the Provincia Cisplatina.

Some Brazilians looked with growing disfavor upon the continuation of their ruler in their midst, and especially the

Creoles wished that he would return to Portugal. In March, 1817, a revolt broke out in Pernambuco which turned into a secession movement, but it was finally suppressed by the ruler's troops.

In 1820, after the revolution in Spain, the people in Portugal decided to overthrow the regency ruling in the name of John and to demand his return to the mother country. In Brazil the people eagerly welcomed the idea, and the Creoles took steps to persuade the king to go to Portugal. Accordingly, on April 26, 1821, John and his family and many Portuguese nobles sailed for Europe.

INDEPENDENCE WON UNDER PEDRO I

Left in charge of the government of Brazil was John's son, Pedro, then twenty-one years of age. With little education except that of a soldier, Pedro was handsome and popular, and he gladly took over the government as regent for his father.

Such a political arrangement for Brazil, however, did not satisfy the people of Portugal, and the *Côrtes* (parliament) demanded that Pedro also return to Europe. When the Creoles in Brazil learned of this order, they, under the leadership of José Bonifácio de Andrada e Silva, "The Father of Modern Brazil," requested that Pedro remain as their ruler. As a result, on January 9, 1822, Pedro announced that he would remain in the country. Ever since, this day has been celebrated as the "I Remain Day." This was the first step in Brazilian independence.

The second step in Brazilian independence occurred on May 13, 1822, when Dom Pedro assumed the title, "Perpetual Defender and Protector of Brazil," and the next month he issued a call for a constitutional assembly.

The third step was taken on September 7, 1822, when Dom Pedro declared on the bank of the Ypiranga River that his motto henceforth would be "Independence or Death." This is known as the *Grito do Ypirango*.

The fourth and final step in consummating Brazilian independence occurred on October 12, 1822, when Dom Pedro was proclaimed constitutional emperor of Brazil at Rio de

Janeiro. On December 1, 1822, he was crowned amid inspiring ceremonies. A constitution for the new state was finally adopted in 1824.

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PART THREE

LATIN AMERICA SINCE INDEPENDENCE

The history of many of the Latin American nations since their independence is an almost continuous succession of revolutions, dictators, and constitutions. Superficial students are prone to look at this perpetual turmoil with a smile of amusement, if not with a sneer of disgust. They are apt to think that this disorderliness indicates a congenital incapacity for self-government. The facts, however, are much more tragic than that and demand a less shallow interpretation.

The revolutions, the dictators, and the constitutions are only symptoms of maladjustment. They reveal the struggle of those peoples to overcome the handicaps of adverse physical environment and racial heterogeneity as well as the curses, inherited from their mother countries, of an aristocratic attitude toward physical labor and an autocratic concept of government.

It is with these points in view that the history of the Latin American nations since independence must be studied. And whatever progress these peoples have made must be measured, not by the yardstick of other more fortunate peoples' advancement, but by the magnitude of the obstacles overcome.



CHAPTER FOURTEEN

LATIN AMERICA AT THE END OF THE REVOLUTIONS FOR INDEPENDENCE

The wars of emancipation in Latin America ended with the surrender, on January 23, 1826, of the Spanish garrison occupying the castle of Callao, in Peru. However, Spain withheld recognition of the new nations for many years to come and in several instances endeavored to recover parts of her lost empire. Portugal recognized the independence of Brazil in 1825, and France that of Haiti in the same year.

Territory. Although bound together by a common political, religious, and cultural heritage, the Spanish colonies of America did not constitute themselves into a single nation after emancipation as did the English colonies of North America. At the end of the wars there were the following states: Mexico and the United Provinces of Central America, comprising the territory of the Viceroyalty of New Spain, Great Colombia, including the territory of New Granada; Peru and Chile, carved out of the territory of the Viceroyalty of Peru; and the United Provinces of the River Plate, Paraguay, and Bolivia, formed out of La Plata Viceroyalty.

Brazil retained the whole territory of the former Portuguese colony of that name, with Uruguay (Banda Oriental) added to it under the name of Cisplatine Province, or State, from 1822 to 1828; and Haiti included the present territory of the Dominican Republic from 1822 to 1844. Cuba remained a Spanish colony until 1898.

Later on, new political subdivisions took place until the total number of the Latin American nations became twenty, as it is today. The boundaries of these nations were for many years, and still are in a few cases, a matter of dispute.



Fig. 29. Latin America after the Wars of Independence, 1825. (Based on text and map from *The Cambridge Modern History Atlas*. Used by permission of the publishers Cambridge Univ. Press, England, and The Macmillan Company, New York.)

Population. No reliable statistics exist in regard to Latin America during the period here studied. About 1825 the total population of Spanish America was roughly estimated at

fifteen millions: about seven millions lived in Mexico and Central America; two and one-half millions in Great Colombia; three-quarters of a million in Chile; over three millions in Peru; and the rest in Argentina, Bolivia, and Paraguay.

Brazil's population was approximately two and one-half millions, and the island of Hispaniola (Española or Santo Domingo), including the French and Spanish-speaking sections, had a total of about one million inhabitants

Social Conditions. Measured by contemporary European standards, society in the new nations was in general primitive and crude. With the exception of a few larger cities, such as Mexico City (140,000), Lima (80,000), Quito (70,000), Buenos Aires (60,000), Santiago de Chile (30,000), and Rio de Janeiro (30,000), the remainder of the civilized population lived scattered in small villages and on isolated farms. The hinterland of South America, and portions of Mexico and Central America, were inhabited by wild Indians who were at war with the civilized population most of the time.

The rural population lived mostly on immense estates owned by a few wealthy families. Life on these estates was patriarchal if not outright feudal, the owners exercising all the rights of feudal lords even though no such rights were given them by the laws.

In the cities—which usually were seats of government, provincial or national—there was always a small group of old families, wealthy and bound together by ties of blood-relationships and friendship, constituting good society. Below this group, and imitating it as much as their background and wealth permitted, was a larger group consisting of traders and owners of small shops and industries. The rest of the urban population included artisans, servants, slaves, peddlers, and beggars.

Despite the fact that in all these nations (except Brazil, Mexico, and Haiti) the form of government adopted was republican and democratic, society was to remain essentially aristocratic for many years to come.

In some sections the wars of emancipation were bloody and lasted for several years, depopulating the rural districts

as well as the towns. Some of the most prominent families were completely wiped out, others lost their wealth and social prestige. On the other hand, the wars brought into prominence men who until then had occupied a humble place in society. Among these latter were some who had distinguished themselves for military ability—rude, uncouth, and ambitious persons who struggled, often successfully, to gain control of the government. These were the *caudillos* and dictators of the next half century of general political disorder.

Even in countries where independence was secured with little or no shedding of blood, such as in Brazil and Central America, hatred toward those who had remained loyal to the mother country throughout the wars persisted after peace was reestablished. In many cases these persons formed the nuclei around which were organized the conservative parties or factions.

Political Conditions. At the end of the wars of emancipation the new nations found themselves freed from the restraints imposed by the mother countries; but they were not prepared for self-government and, least of all, for republican and democratic government as provided in their constitutions. Politically, the Spanish colonies, as well as Portuguese Brazil and French Haiti, had been accustomed to the monarchic form of government, as represented by the king, the viceroy, the captain general, and the *cacique*. Colonial government was always autocratic, and the Creoles were seldom given the opportunity to gain political experience. Even the municipal governments, which allowed a certain amount of self-government, had gradually lost many of their democratic features, because of the custom of selling offices to the highest bidder.

Nevertheless, it must be kept in mind that whatever political experience the leaders of the new nations possessed had been acquired in the *cabildos*, *ayuntamientos*, or *senados das camaras*. In many cases these city governments formed the nuclei of the national governments.

The large mass of people were illiterate, ignorant, and inexperienced in all matters of government except unconditional obedience to the constituted authorities. That they were

not prepared for republican government was realized by some of the patriot leaders, such as San Martín, Belgrano, Rivadavia, Pueyrredón, Bolívar, Sucre, Lucas Alamán, and many others, who at one time or another favored a monarchic form of government. But the majority of the patriots, with the examples of the American and French Revolutions before them, could not be persuaded to accept a monarch as their ruler, except in Brazil—and in Mexico and Haiti for shorter periods.

The constitutions adopted were drafted, for the most part, by lawyers, theorists, and idealists who had no experience in democratic government. When it came to the election of executive officers, men of power and prestige, usually prominent soldiers of the emancipation wars, were chosen. Most of these men knew little or nothing about political theory. Confronted with the problems of creating an effective government, they acted in accordance with their own military experience. Accustomed to army discipline, they in general expected prompt and blind obedience from legislatures and the people. When this did not happen, they resorted to force. The result was a perpetual struggle between impossible theories of government and the realism of immediate practical needs. Very soon the constitutions and laws were set aside, and despotism, tempered by revolution and assassinations, became the prevailing form of government in most of the new nations.

The situation was further aggravated by rivalry between leaders; racial antagonism between the ever increasing *Mestizos* and mulattoes on one hand, and the pure-white Creoles on the other, and by intense regionalism, which further tended to break up the national units.

Economic Conditions. In colonial days manufacturing had been discouraged by the authorities to prevent competition with the mother country, and agriculture had often been sacrificed to the exploitation of mineral wealth. During the wars of independence, and thereafter for many years, owing to general disorder, the mineral and agricultural production decreased and almost disappeared in many cases. A great deal of property was destroyed because of hatred toward the

owners or for tactical reasons. Much of the property and trade had been in the hands of Iberians who were either killed or compelled to leave the country. Even when they sided with the patriots, which some did to save their lives and property, they remained under the cloud of public suspicion, jealousy, and hatred, and their economic activities were hindered.

In some of the new nations the economic and financial ailments were further aggravated by the abolition of slavery and extravagance of government expenditures.

Means of communication were unsatisfactory for the most part, or even non-existent. Restrictions on foreign commerce were abolished everywhere at the outset of independence, and trade pacts were signed, especially with Great Britain and the United States. This resulted in the flooding of local markets with foreign goods, which further discouraged local industries.

Cultural Conditions. During colonial days little or no public instruction existed in the modern sense, and the masses were illiterate. Provisions for general public education were included in the constitutions and legislation adopted at the outset of independence. Efforts were made to establish elementary schools, but the lack of funds and general disorder impaired to a great extent the success of these efforts. In some countries private associations under the auspices of the government were organized to introduce the Lancastrian system of instruction; in others the Scotch educator, James Thomson, was invited to establish schools based upon that system. The well-to-do continued to be educated by private tutors or in small private schools or abroad, as during colonial days. Higher and professional education was centered in convents, seminaries, and in a few government-supported universities, such as Chuquisaca in Bolivia, San Marcos in Peru, Santa Fe de Bogotá in Great Colombia, Córdoba in Argentina, and Santiago in Chile. There was no university in Brazil until the twentieth century, although separate faculties of law, medicine, and theology were established in early years.

Education was classical and humanistic in character. Despite the low general level of education, there existed in the various countries men of great culture, such as José Bonifacio

de Andrada e Silva (1765-1838), a Brazilian scientist of European renown; Andrés Bello (1781-1865), a Venezuelan jurist, educator, and writer, who spent the greatest part of his life in the service of Chile; Lucas Alamán (1792-1853), a historian and statesman of Mexico; Antonio José Irisarri (1786-1868), a brilliant philologist, poet, and writer on political science born in Central America; and José Joaquín Olmedo (1780-1847), an illustrious poet of Ecuador.

Religious Conditions. The predominant religion of the Latin American peoples was, as it is still today, the Roman Catholic. The constitutions of all the new nations adopted it as the official religion of the State, the latter assuming all the prerogatives in religious matters that the Spanish crown had previously held. The *real patronato* became in most cases *patronato nacional*.

Although most of the upper hierarchy of the Church had sided with the mother countries at the outbreak of the independence wars, which was to be expected since most of them were Spaniards, the lower clergy, mostly native, sided in general with the patriot cause and in some instances became leaders of the revolutionary movement. At the end of the wars the prestige of the Church remained undimmed. There is no doubt that during the wars and the following period of disorder the Church contributed in no small degree to stability and national unity, although in many cases it sided with the military and the landed aristocracy in opposition to progressive legislation and democratic government.

In general, the religion of the lower classes, particularly of the Indians, Negroes, mulattoes, and *Mestizos*, was a crude mixture of Catholicism, idolatry, and superstition.

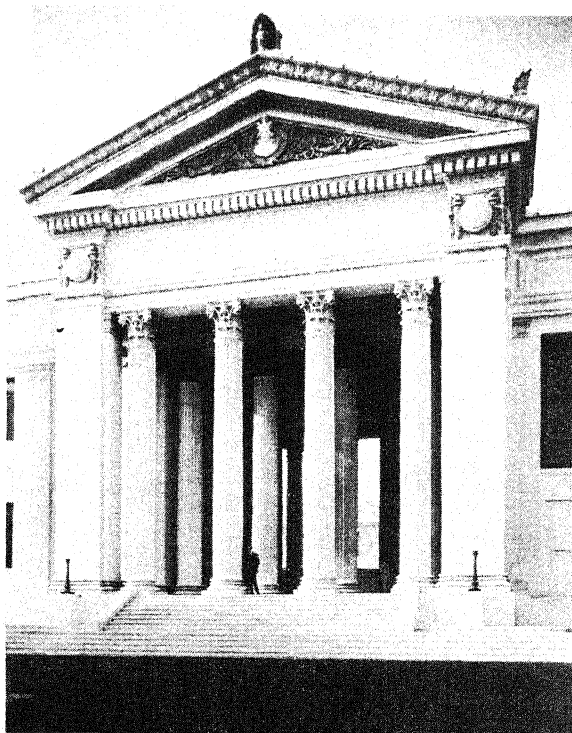
In a few countries Protestants, mostly foreigners, were allowed the exercise of their faith with restrictions.

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Cathedral, Lima, Peru ►



◄ Entrance to the University, Havana, Cuba

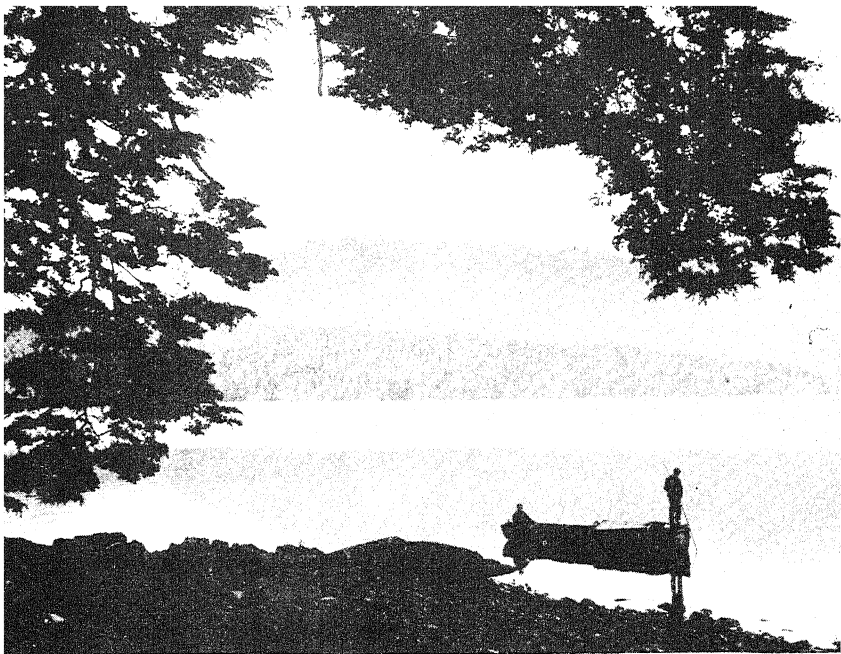
*[All photos courtesy of
Pan American Union
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accredited]*



A glacier in Tierra del Fuego, Chile



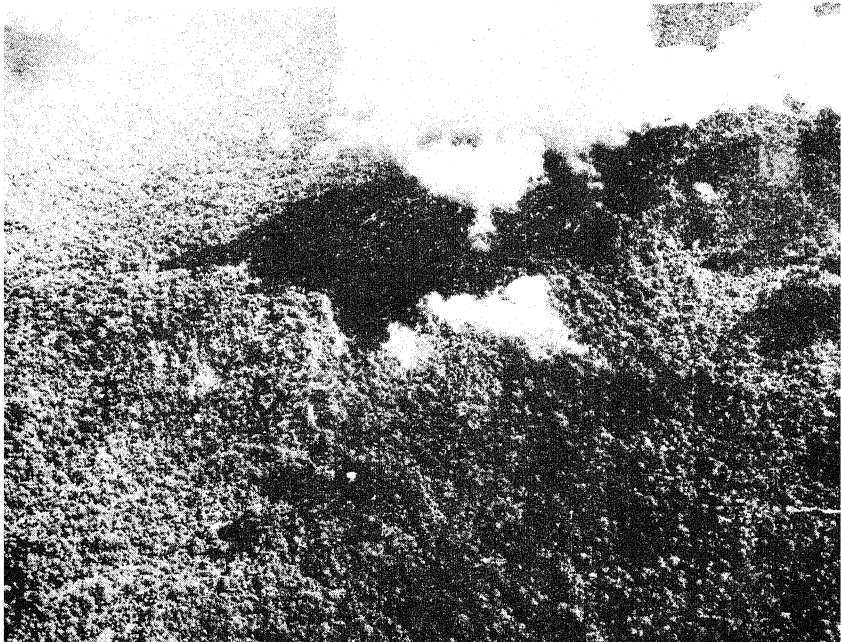
Along the Pacuare River, Costa Rica

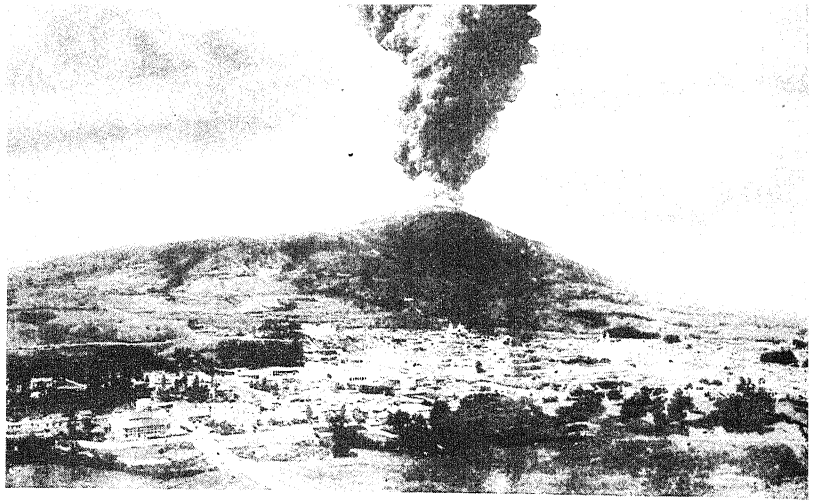


Courtesy of Argentina Pavilion, New York World's Fair
Lake Nahuel Huapi, Argentina

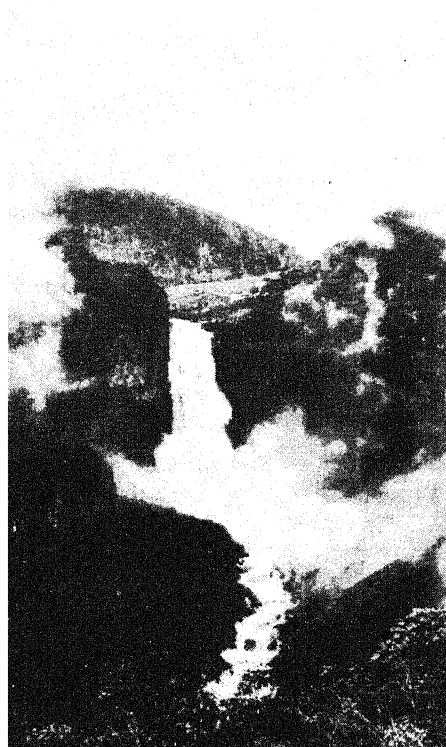
Jungle country, Costa Rica

Air Service Photo

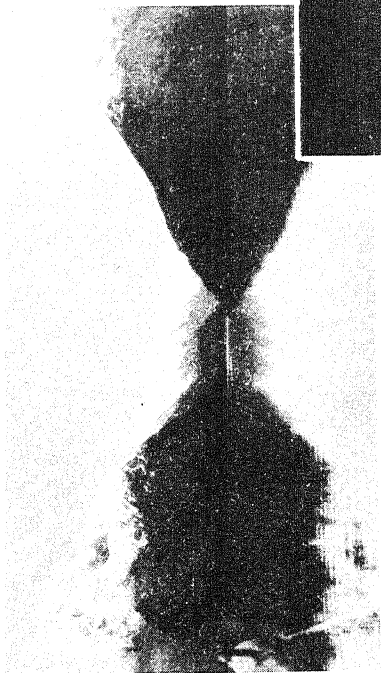




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Volcano, Pasto, Colombia



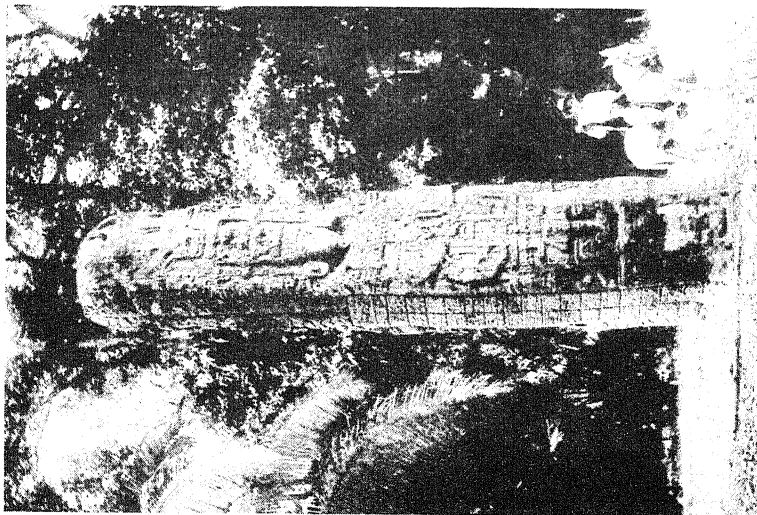
◀ Tequendama Falls, Colombia



◀ Strait of Magellan, Chile

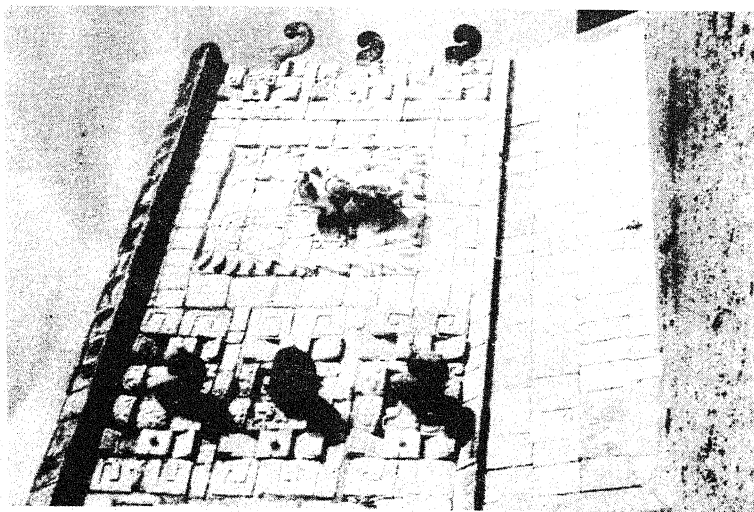


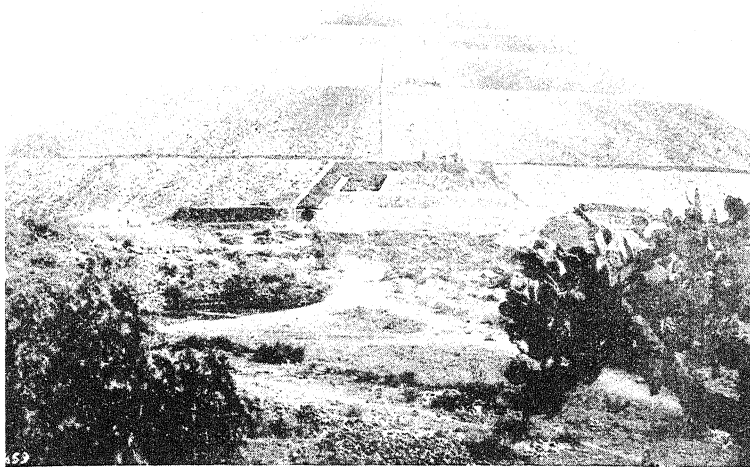
El Misti Mountain, Arequipa, Peru ▶



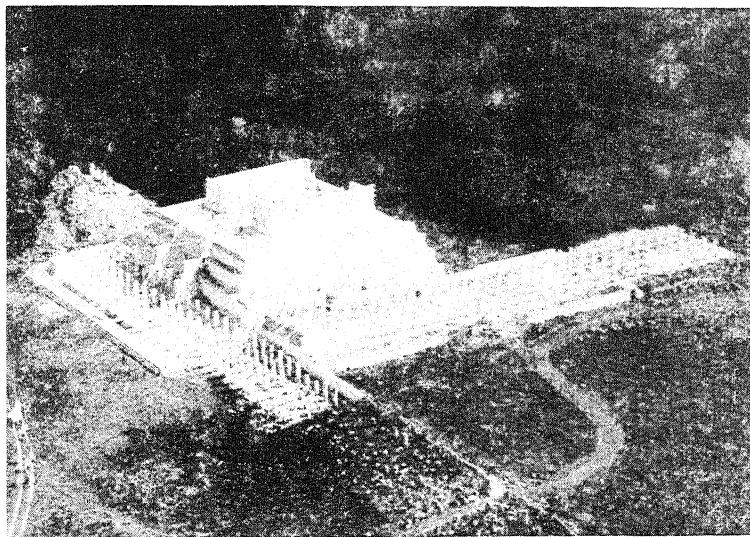
Temple of the Warriors, Chichén Itzá, Mexico

Large Stele, Ruins of Quirigua, Guatemala





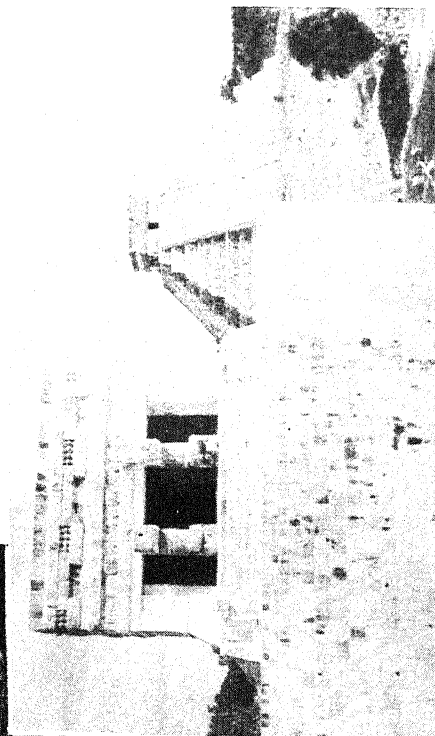
Pyramid of the Sun, Mexico



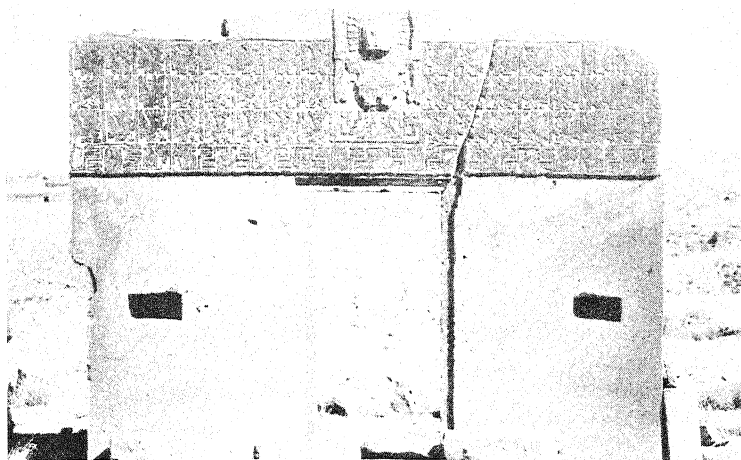
Temple of the Warriors, viewed from the air. Chichén Itzá, Mexico



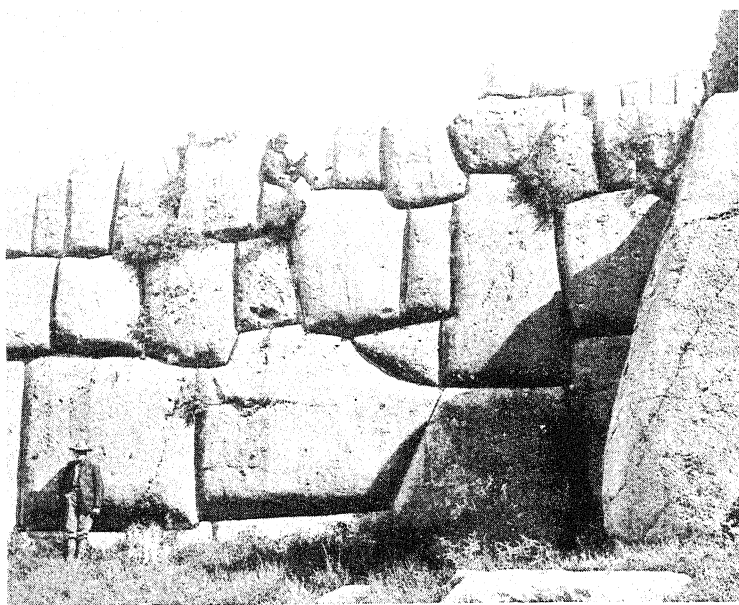
◀ Airview of Chichén Itzá, Mexico



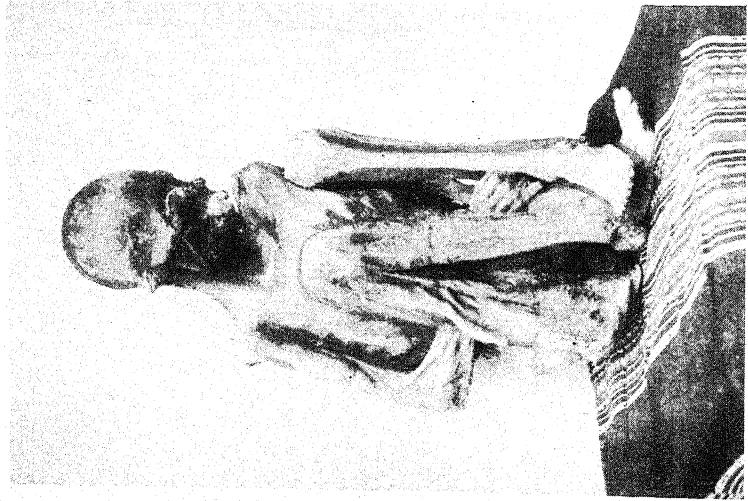
Temple of the Tigers, Chichén Itzá, Mexico ▶



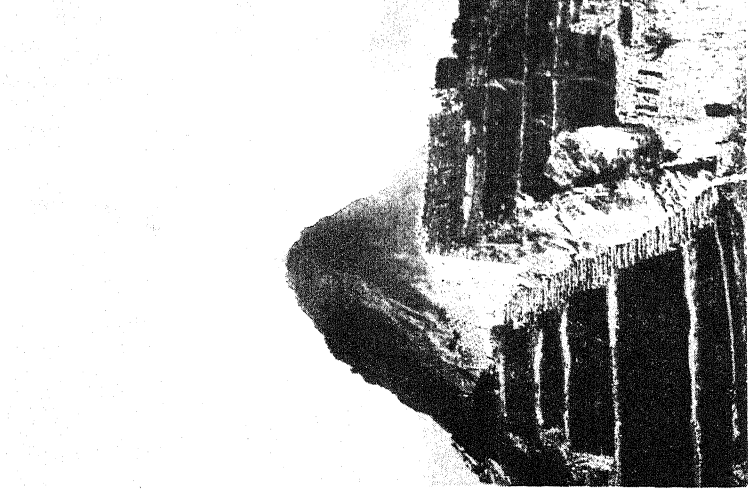
Indian ruins at Tiahuanaco, Bolivia



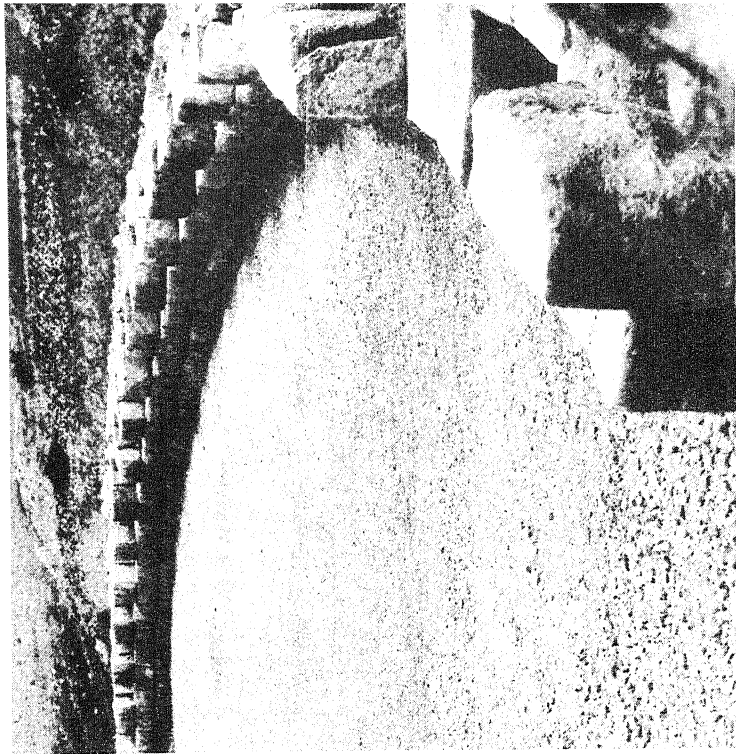
Wall surrounding ancient fortress of Sacsahuaman, Peru



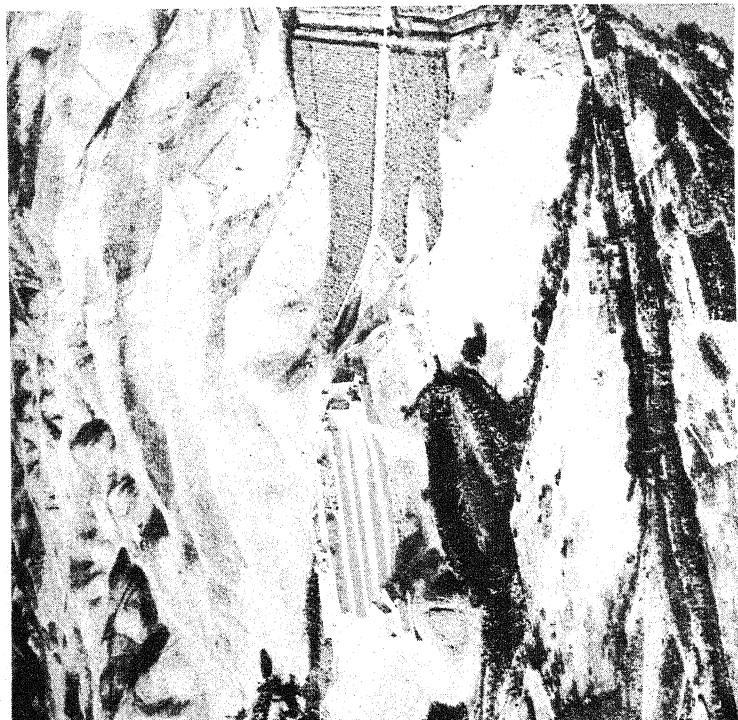
◀ Inca mummy, Bolivia



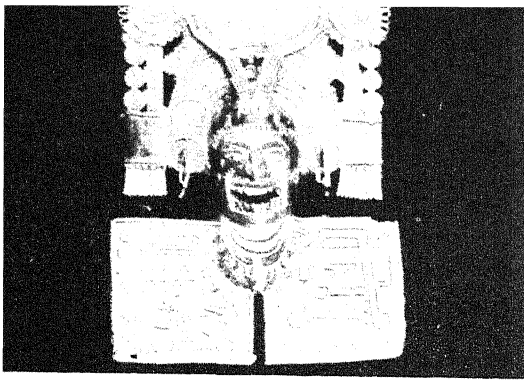
▶ Ruins at Machu Picchu, Peru



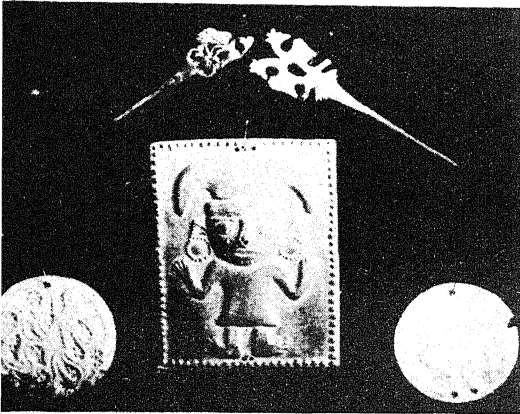
Courtesy of National Museum, Lin
 Amphitheater at Kenko, Peru



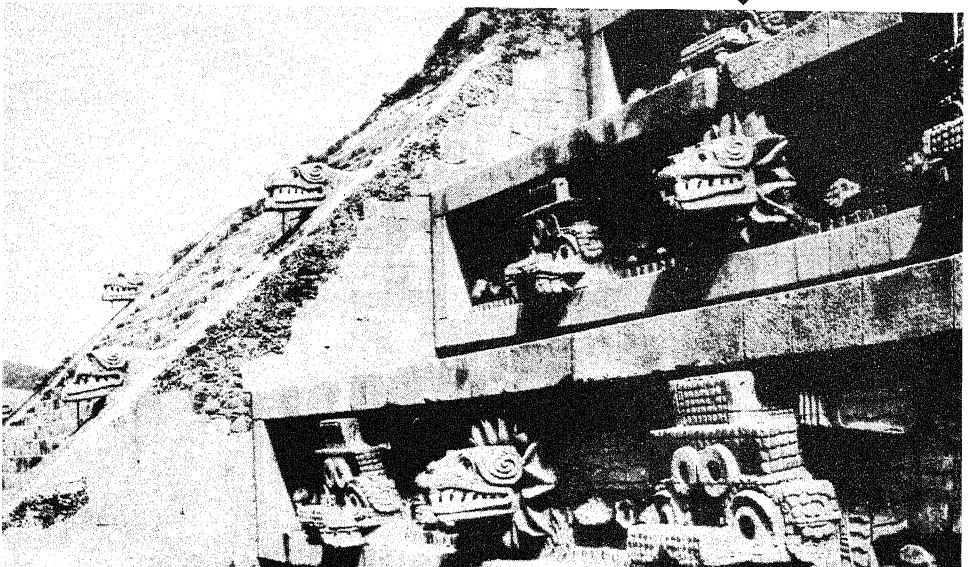
Courtesy of Grace Log
 Inca ruins at Paramonga, Peru



◀ Gold Breast Plate from
Monte Albán, Mexico



◀ Ancient gold ornaments
from Peru



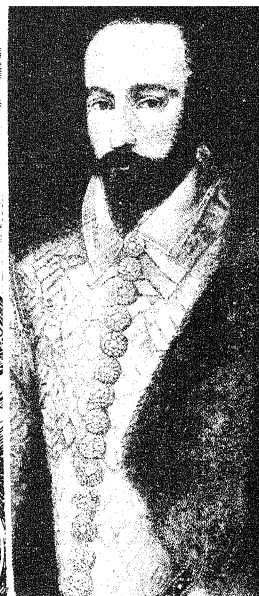
Detail of pyramid, Mexico



Alvarado



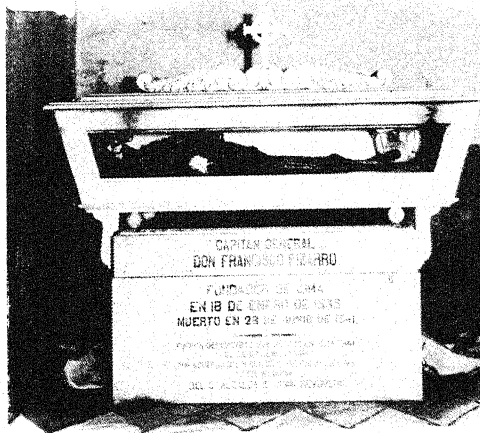
Jiménez de Quesada



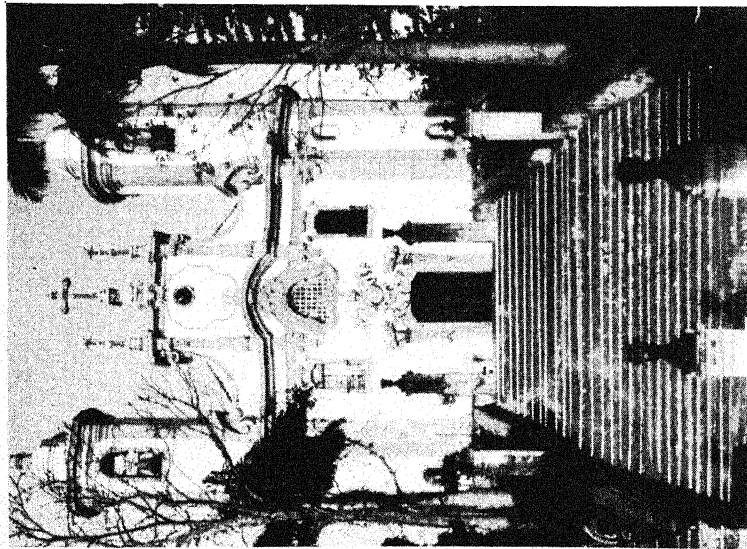
Francisco Pizarro



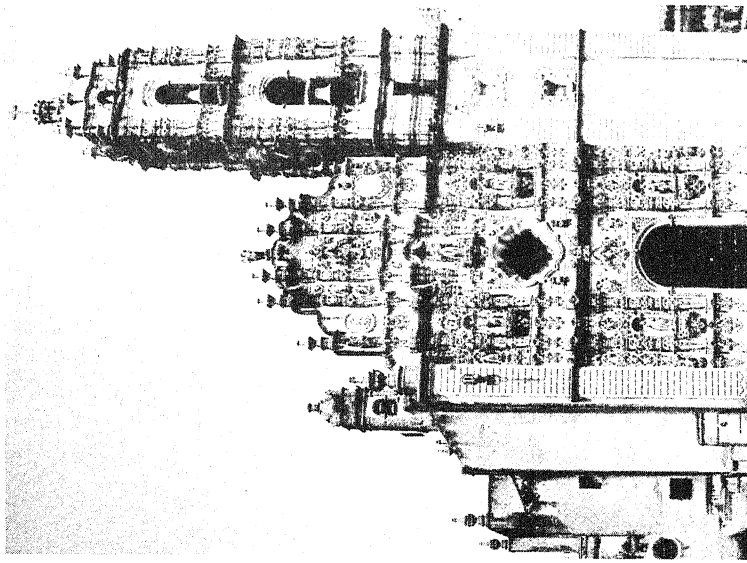
Cortés



Mummy of Pizarro



Colonial church, Ouro Preto, Brazil



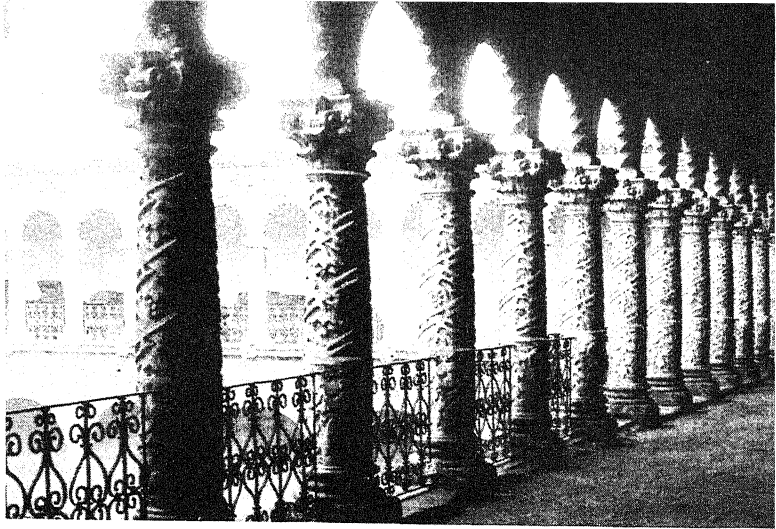
Convent, Tepotzotlán, Mexico



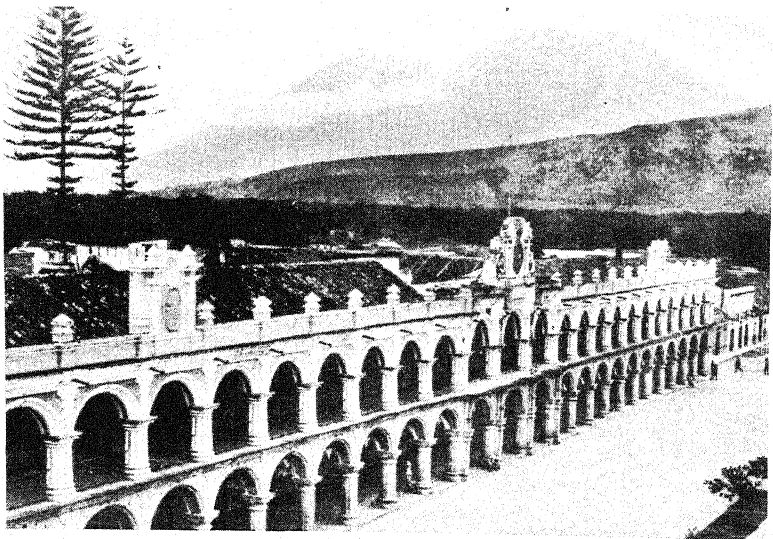
◀ A patio, Zipaquirá,
Colombia



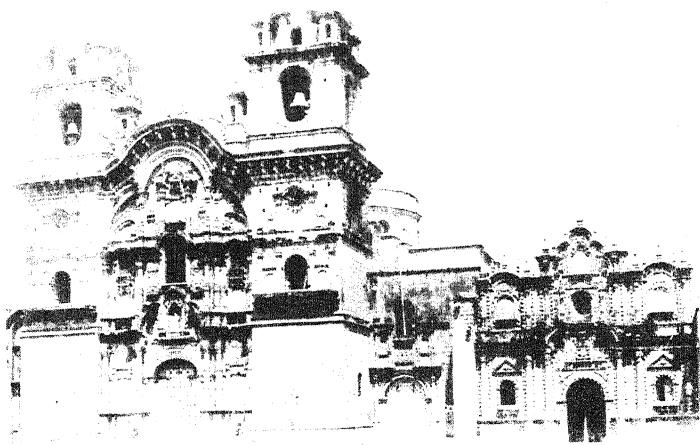
Exterior of a colonial
home, Trinidad, Cuba ▶



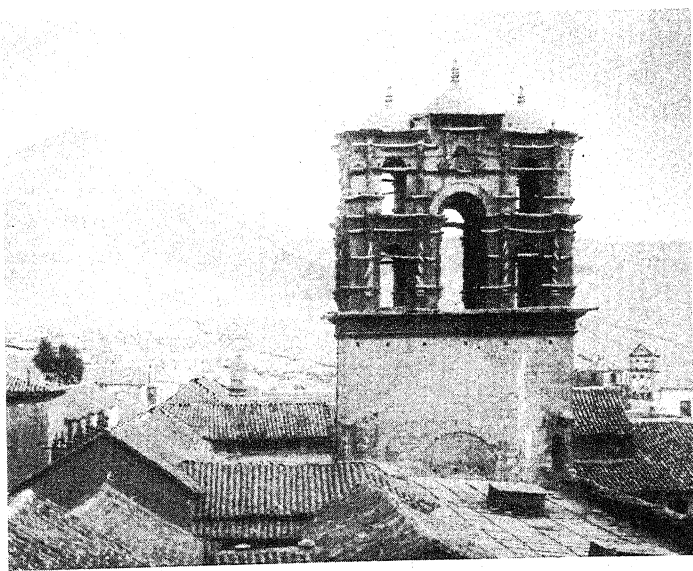
Convent, La Merced, Mexico City



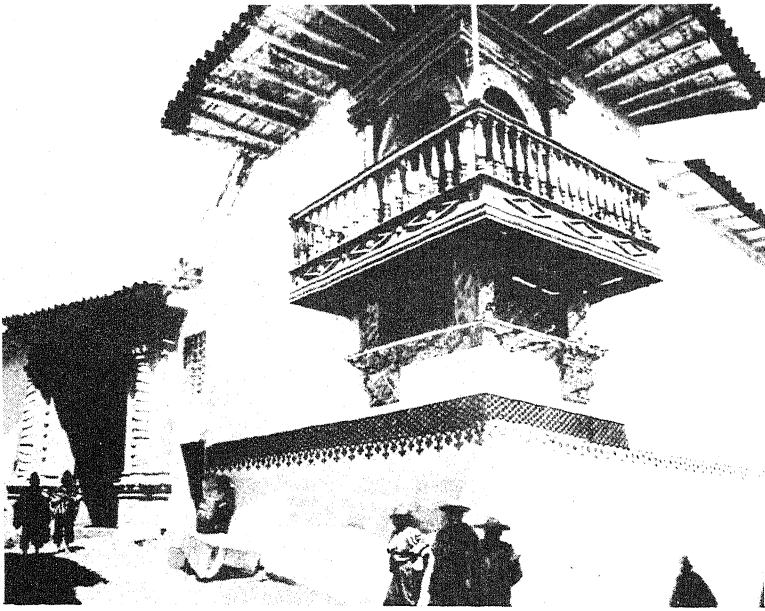
Palace of the Captains General, Antigua, Guatemala



Jesuit church, Cuzco, Peru



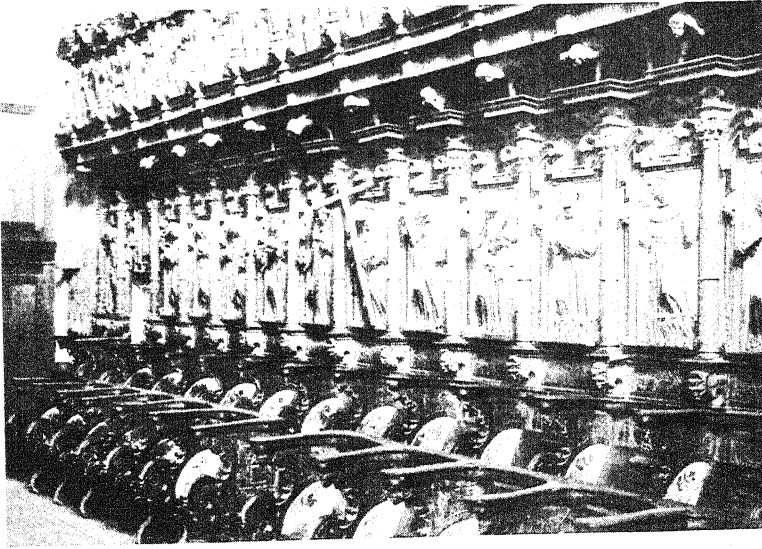
Tower of the Jesuits, Potosí, Bolivia



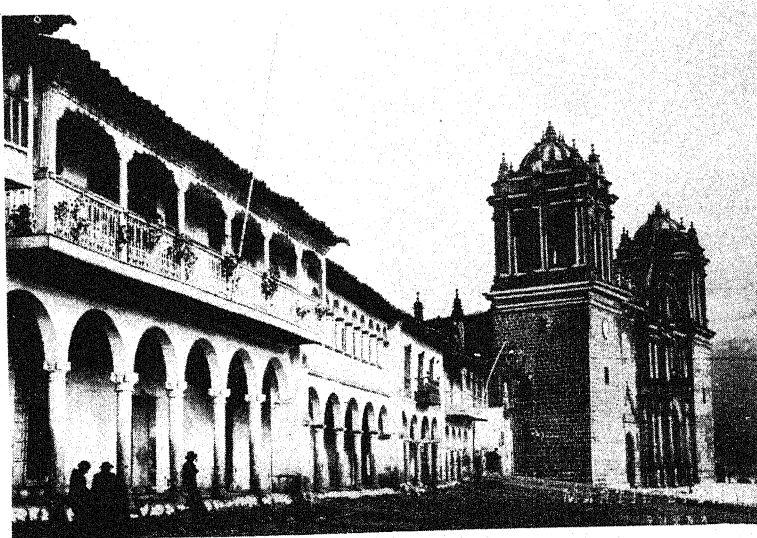
House known as "El Almirante", Cuzco, Peru



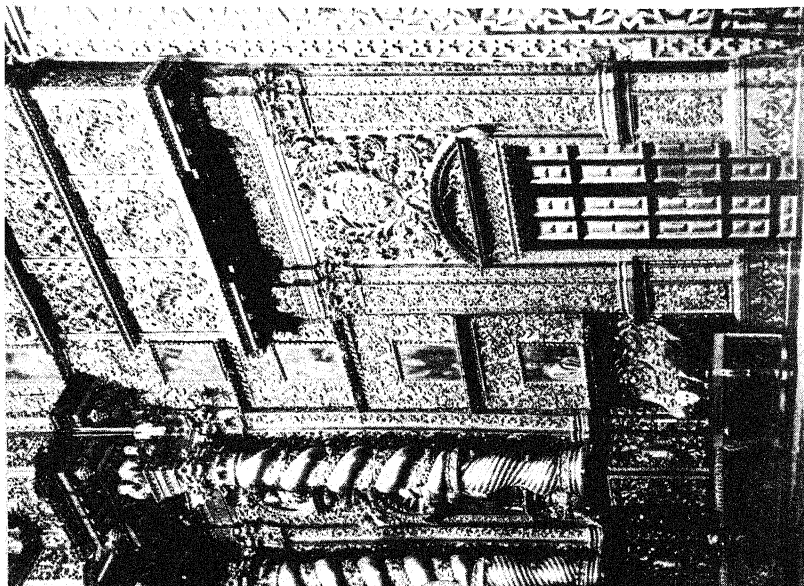
Three hundred year old Spanish mission, Orosi, Costa Rica



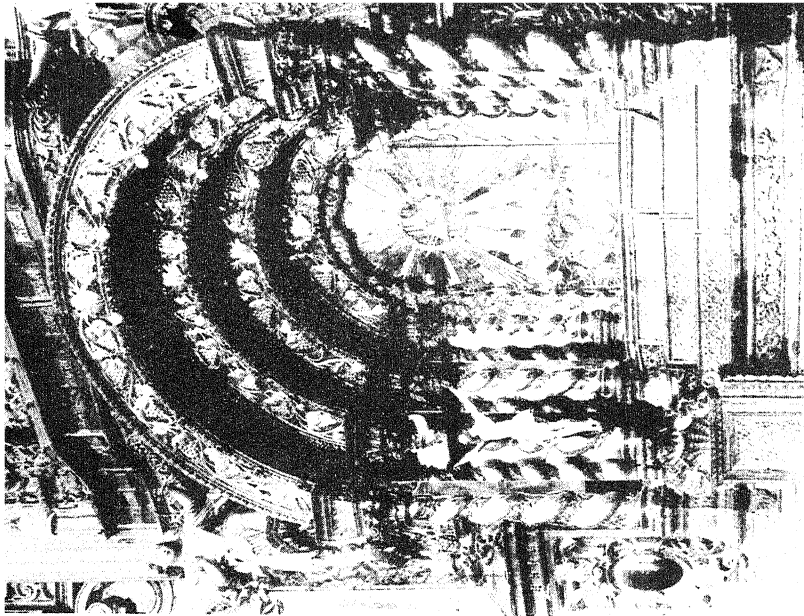
Choir stalls in the Cathedral, Cuzco, Peru



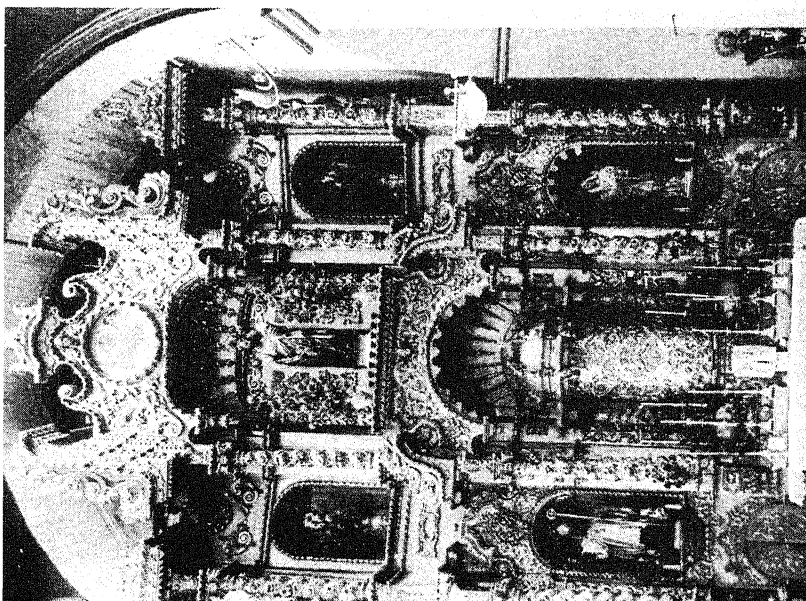
Cathedral and Arcades, Cuzco, Peru



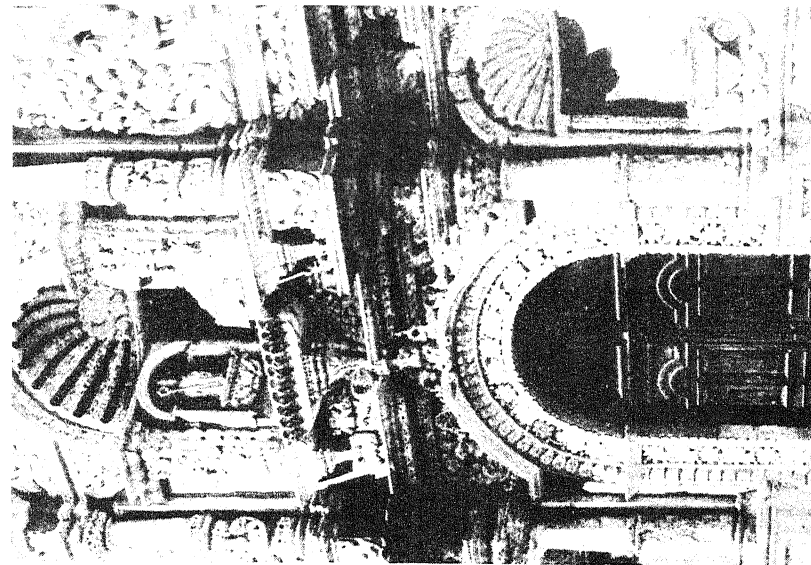
Interior View, La
Compañía Church,
Quito, Ecuador



San Francisco Altar,
in colonial church,
Quito, Ecuador



Altar in San José
Church, Panama City
Panama



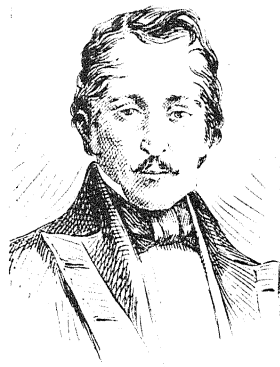
Door of a church,
Arequipa, Peru



Sucre



Miranda



Santander



Paéz



Bolívar



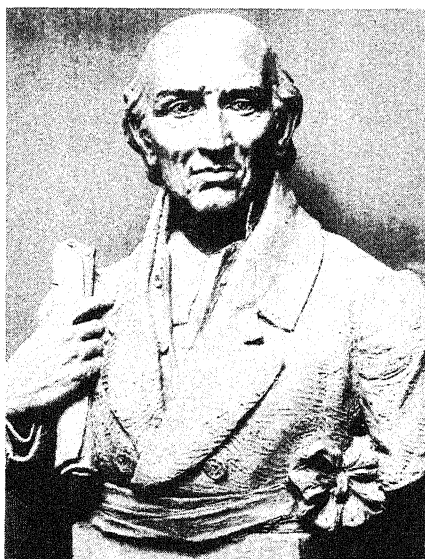
BERNARDO O'HIGGINS. LEONIDAS MUÑOZ
a la memoria de don Bernardo O'Higgins
del Excmo. Sr. D. Bernardo O'Higgins
y la Legión de Honor. Muerto el 20 de Oct.
Comandante en Jefe de la Gran División del Sur.
Comandante en Jefe de la Gran División del Sur.
Comandante en Jefe de la Gran División del Sur.

O'Higgins

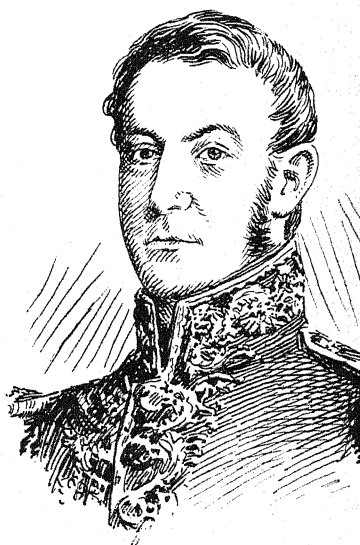


José Bonifácio

Rivera



Hidalgo



San Martín



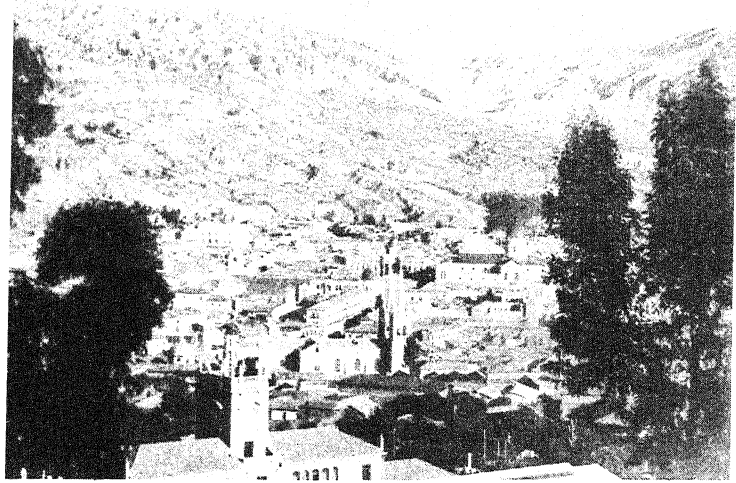
Mitre



Sarmiento



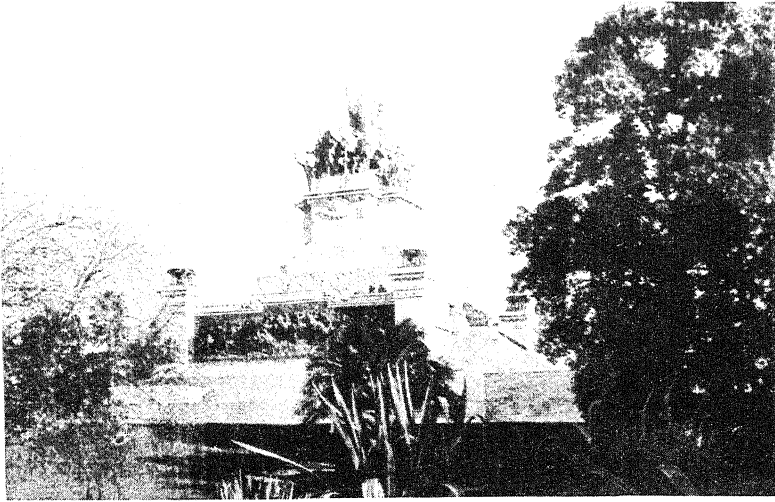
Plaza del Congreso, Buenos Aires, Argentina



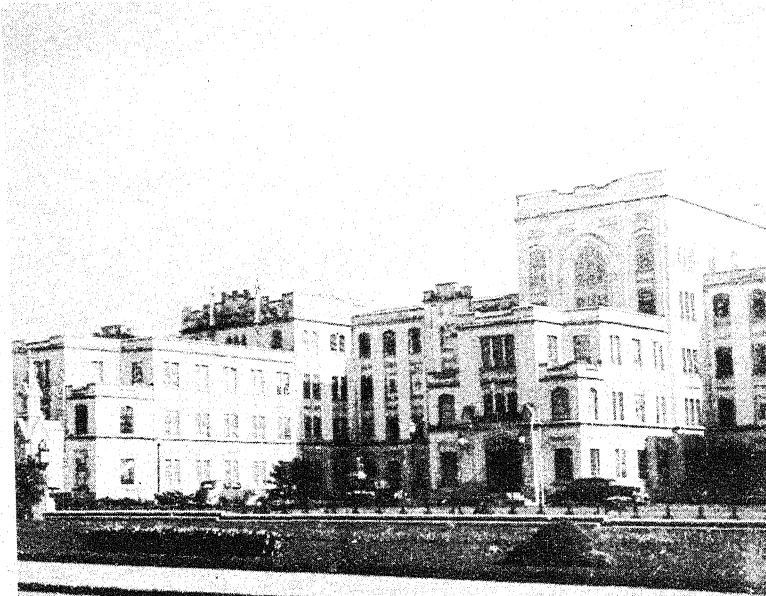
View of La Paz, Bolivia



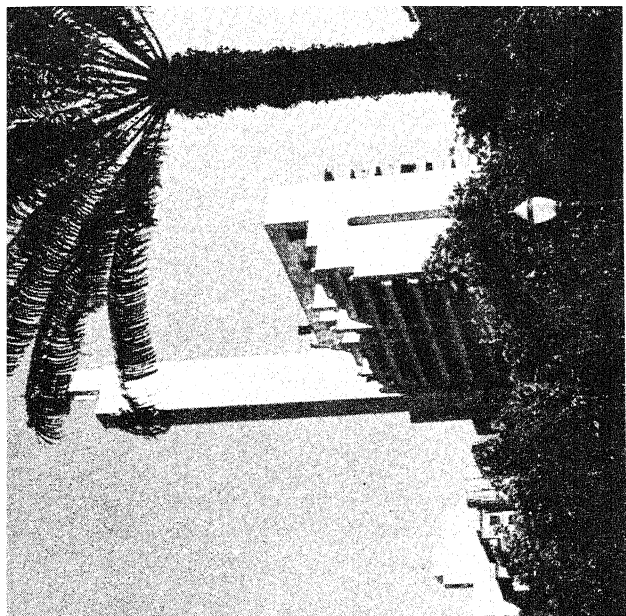
Balsas on Lake Titicaca, Bolivia



Independence monument, São Paulo, Brazil



Faculty of Medicine, São Paulo, Brazil



Apartment house, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil



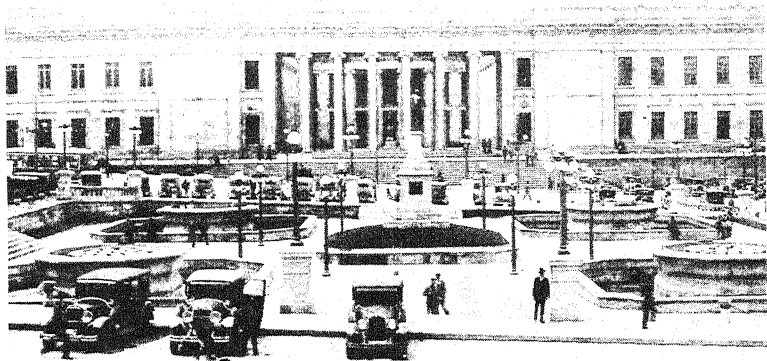
Botafogo Bay, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil



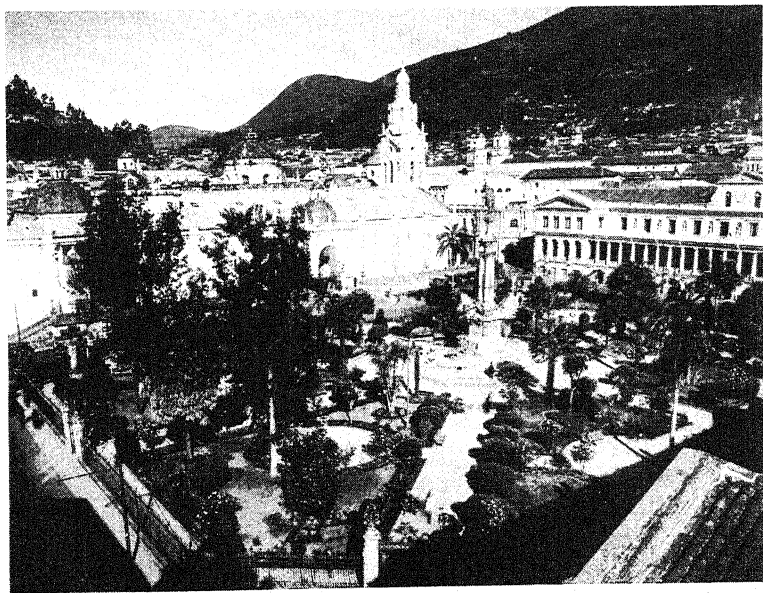
Avenida de las Delicias, Santiago, Chile



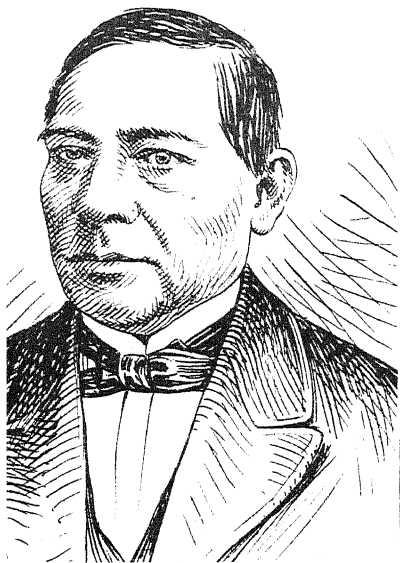
Copper mine, Chile



National Palace, Bogotá, Colombia



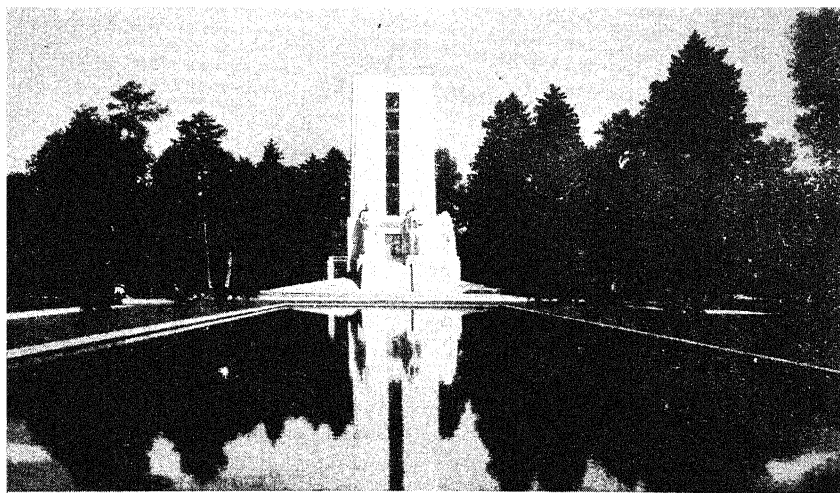
Plaza Independencia, Quito, Ecuador



Juárez



Díaz



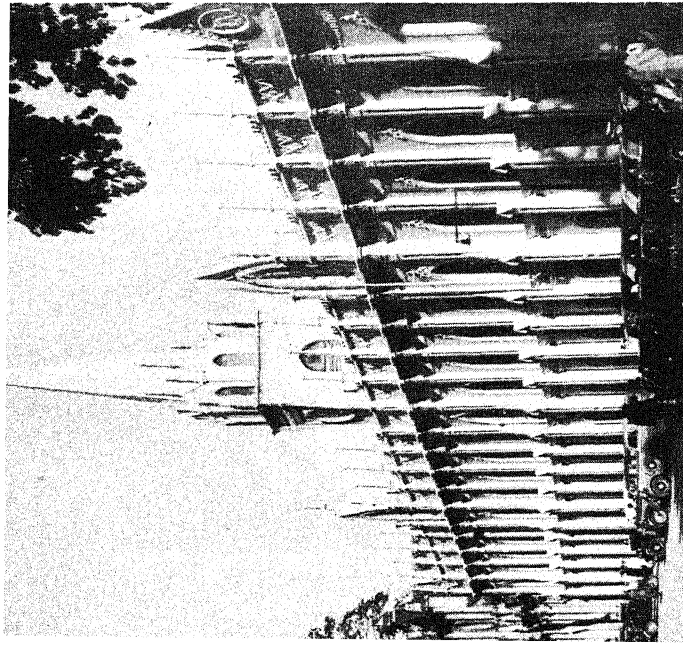
Obregón Monument, Mexico City, Mexico



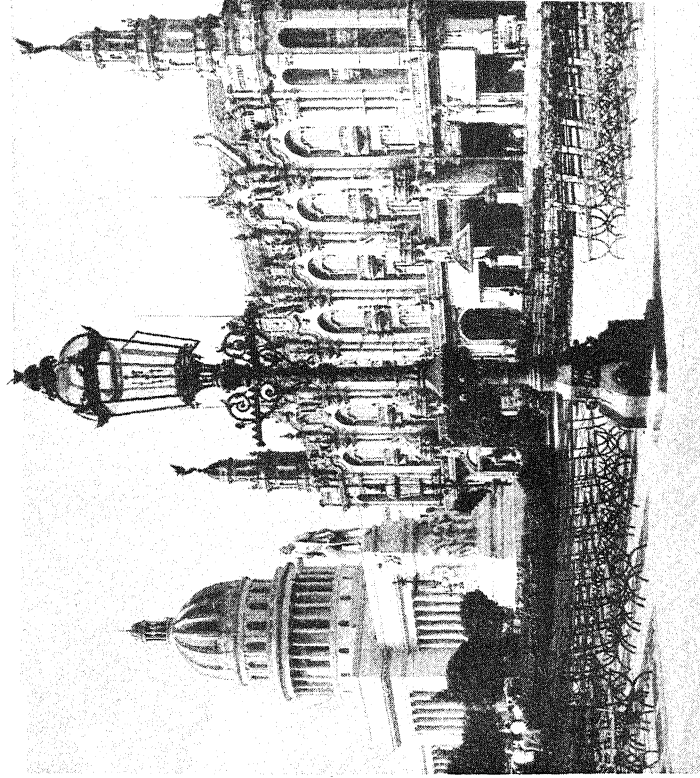
Beach near Montevideo, Uruguay



National Capitol, Montevideo, Uruguay



University, Caracas, Venezuela



National Capitol, Havana, Cuba

CHAPTER FIFTEEN

MEXICO

In brief, the history of Mexico since independence is the story of the struggle of the despoiled native races to shake off the dominance—political, social, and economic—of the descendants of the Spanish conquerors. Three distinct stages may be pointed out in this struggle. The first period is from 1821 to 1855, during which time the white aristocratic element was in control and the country was ruled by military *caudillos*. It is characterized by general anarchy, rivalry among leaders, and corruption and incompetence in matters of government. In the second period, from 1855 to 1910, Liberalism gained control of the government, struck at the most scandalous privileges of the conservative classes, and attempted to redistribute the land and property accumulated by the Church during three centuries of favoritism. The third period, from 1910 to the present time, is properly called the Mexican Revolution. The most distinctive features of this period are the breaking up of the large estates, the distribution of land among the peasants, the enactment of social legislation favoring the laboring classes, and the struggle against foreign capitalism and the Church.

THE MILITARY ANARCHY AND CAUDILLISMO (1821—1855)

It has already been seen how Agustín de Iturbide, a royalist army officer who had fought against the revolutionary forces of Hidalgo, endeavored to reconcile the royalists with the patriots by issuing the Plan of Iguala, which proposed the

maintenance of the Roman Catholic religion and the establishment of an independent limited monarchy with equal rights for both Spaniards and Mexicans.

When, on February 24, 1822, a national congress assembled at Mexico City, three parties were formed. One favored the placing of a Bourbon prince upon the Mexican throne; the second stood for the occupation of the throne by Iturbide himself under the Plan of Iguala; and the third advocated the establishment of a federal republic. The Spanish government, by refusing to recognize the Treaty of Córdoba and to have anything to do with an independent Mexico, offered Iturbide

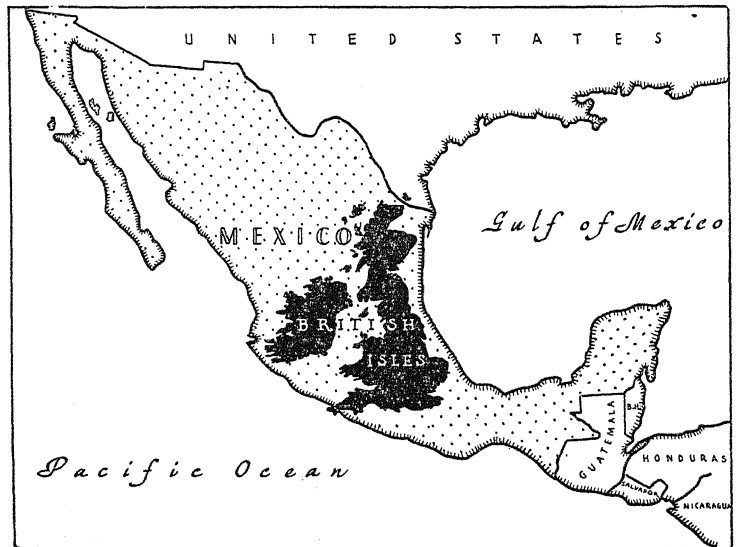


Fig. 30. The area of Mexico compared to the British Isles.

and his friends the opportunity for which they had been waiting. Quarreling with the congress over financial matters and the maintenance of an army, Iturbide gained the support of the conservative classes. On May 18, 1822, he was acclaimed emperor by a group of soldiers in the streets of the capital. The next day the congress was overawed by the same rowdy element into formally electing Iturbide emperor under the title of Agustín I. On July 21, he was crowned in the cathedral. The congress declared the monarchy hereditary and gave the title of princes to the members of Iturbide's family.

Iturbide's Empire. The first Mexican empire was short-lived. On October 31, the emperor dissolved the congress because of the opposition to his rule on the part of the Republican element. A legislative junta composed of persons favorable to him was created. Pressed for money, he had this junta approve forced loans. The wealthy began to lose confidence in the emperor, and the Liberals took advantage of the situation to incite the people to revolt. On December 2, Antonio López de Santa Anna began his career as a professional revolutionist by leading the garrison of Vera Cruz in revolt against the government. Although defeated at Jalapa, he and some of his followers were able to take refuge in Vera Cruz.

On February 1, 1823, the revolutionists proclaimed in Vera Cruz the Plan of Casa Mata, favoring the reestablishment of the sovereignty of the national congress and the calling of a new congress. Then they marched against the capital. Iturbide, seeing that all was lost for him, convened the old congress and abdicated (March 19). Upon meeting, the new congress refused to accept Iturbide's abdication, since that would have amounted to recognition of his rights to the crown, declared his government null and void, and exiled him to Italy with a generous annual pension.

Iturbide left the country. But returning to Mexico in 1824 in the hope of regaining favor with the people, he was recognized, arrested, tried, and executed in Padilla, state of Tamaulipas. He was the first of a long list of Mexican executives who have been removed by the bullets of a military squad. He was vain, egotistical, and incompetent, representing that aristocratic Creole element to which so many of the political leaders of this period belonged.

The First Federalist Constitution. After deporting Iturbide, the national congress declared itself in favor of the establishment of a republic, appointed a governing junta, called a constituent assembly to draft a constitution, and adjourned.

The constituent assembly met late in 1823, and after protracted discussion between the Centralists, who favored the concentration of political power, and the Federalists, who advocated the division of powers between the states and a central

government, it adopted a constitution embodying the main ideas of the latter. This constitution, promulgated on October 4, 1824, divided the country into nineteen autonomous states and established a federal government composed of the executive body (president and vice-president elected for four years by the state legislatures), a bicameral congress, and a judiciary. The Catholic faith was declared the official religion of the state, and other religions were prohibited. Guadalupe Victoria (assumed name of Juan Manuel Félix Fernández) was elected president, with Nicolás Bravo as vice-president. They were inaugurated on October 10, 1824.

The Masonic Parties. During the following year many Masonic lodges of the York Rite were organized throughout the country by the Liberals, Federalists, and Republicans, whereas the Monarchists, Centralists, and Conservatives in general organized themselves into lodges of the Scottish Rite. Thus appeared the two main parties or factions of this period, the *Yorkinos* and the *Escoseses*. The former won the congressional elections of 1826 and the latter rose in revolt, calling for the suppression of all secret societies, for the overthrow of the government, and for the dismissal of Joel Roberts Poinsett, then United States Minister to Mexico. Poinsett was often consulted by the *Yorkinos* and by his freely expressed opinions had won the antagonism of the Conservatives.

As a result of the *Yorkinos'* propaganda, a decree expelling all Spaniards from the country was adopted by the congress on December 20, 1827. This resulted in the emigration of a considerable number of people and in the consequent loss of much capital for Mexico at a time when the country needed it badly.

The elections of 1828 were won by the *Escoseses*, whose candidate, General Manuel Gómez Pedraza, was elected president, with Anastasio Bustamante as vice-president. The *Yorkinos* at once revolted under the leadership of General Santa Anna. President-elect Pedraza was forced to leave the country, and thereupon the congress (on January 12, 1829) declared the previous election null and elected General Vicente Guerrero president, with Anastasio Bustamante as vice-president.

Guerrero, Bustamante, and Santa Anna. Under Guerrero the abolition of slavery was decreed (September 16, 1828) and other reforms were undertaken. The Conservatives, who were in control in most of the states, revolted against the federal government. The government forces were defeated, and the congress deposed Guerrero, who was assassinated the following year.

During Guerrero's administration a Spanish expedition under the command of General Isidro Barradas landed in Mexico to attempt the reconquest of the country, but this was defeated by General Santa Anna, who thereby gained great prestige with the Mexican people.

Bustamante was declared the head of the executive and assumed the government on January 1, 1830. He belonged to the Conservative faction and was helped by one of the ablest men Mexico has ever had, Lucas Alamán, a wealthy aristocrat who, despite his great culture and undeniable talent, possessed all the prejudices of his class.

The assassination of General Guerrero, carried out in cold blood by a group of soldiers, had caused general indignation throughout the country. In 1832 General Santa Anna, always ready to take advantage of any opportunity to promote his own selfish purposes, denounced the government in Vera Cruz. Bustamante was compelled to resign in favor of General Pedraza, who had been elected president in 1828, but who had never assumed the government. He was now allowed to finish the presidential term for which he had been elected, at the end of this term, Santa Anna was declared president, with Dr. Valentín Gómez Farías as vice-president. Directly or indirectly Santa Anna was to remain in control of Mexican politics until 1855. He was an incompetent and corrupt individual, utterly devoid of principles, indifferent to the best interests of his country or the improvement of the common people, but not without a certain amount of personal charm and a sense of opportunity which enabled him to dazzle the Mexican populace and to keep the support of the conservative classes despite his many and costly failures.

On April 1, 1832, Valentín Gómez Farías assumed the presidency while Santa Anna absented himself from the capi-

tal. A staunch Liberal, he soon antagonized the privileged classes by proposing measures against the Church. Returning to the capital, Santa Anna attempted to make himself dictator with the support of the Conservatives. But seeing that the country would not stand for that at the time, he again left the government in the hands of Gómez Farías. New laws were adopted against the Church, the California missions were secularized; the university was extinguished and replaced by a board of public instruction, and the compulsory payment of the tithe was abolished.

The Centralist Constitution of 1836. The antagonism against the Federalist Constitution of 1824 culminated in a revolt of the Conservatives under the cry of *Religión y Fueros* (Religion and Privileges). General Santa Anna, seeing his opportunity, definitely sided with the Conservatives and in 1834 proclaimed the Plan of Cuernavaca, which replaced the liberal laws and called for the replacement of the federal form of government by one which was centralized. At his suggestion a constituent convention met in 1835, and a new government embodied in seven laws called *Las Siete Leyes Constitucionales* (December 29, 1836) was adopted. The presidential term was increased to eight years, the states were abolished, and the country was divided into departments for administrative purposes, ruled by governors appointed by the central government; the legislature was made unicameral; and the executive was to be advised by a council of state. A Supreme Conservative Power was also created, consisting of a commission of citizens to supervise the actions of the various branches of government.

The Loss of Texas. The abolition of the federal system resulted in the immediate secession of Texas and indirectly, ten years later, in the war with the United States.

Texas formed part of the state of Coahuila and was inhabited by many Americans who had settled there because of the liberal Mexican immigration laws. Dissatisfied with the political conditions after the Revolution of 1834, the Americans rose against the central government and established a provisional autonomous government of their own on November 7, 1835, at San Felipe de Austin, declaring themselves in favor

of the Constitution of 1824 On March 2, 1836, at a convention held at Washington, on the Río Brazos, they issued their first declaration of independence. General Santa Anna marched against them and at the Alamo defeated the revolutionists despite the heroic resistance of the defenders of the town. The massacre of the inhabitants that followed aroused intense indignation among the Texans and in the United States. On April 21, 1836, General Santa Anna was attacked on the banks of the San Jacinto River and completely routed. To cap the climax, the Mexican general was captured by the Texans and sent to the United States The situation remained more or less stationary for the next ten years, while the Texans negotiated for admission into the United States

Bustamante's Second Administration. General Anastasio Bustamante was elected president under the new constitution and took office on April 21, 1837. His second administration was full of turmoil and complications with foreign nations. Between January, 1838, and March, 1839, the so-called "Pastry War" took place with France, because of unpaid claims arising from political disturbances The incident resulted in an attack on Vera Cruz by a French fleet During this affair Santa Anna, who had returned from the United States, was shot in the knee and nearly captured. The wound, which made necessary the amputation of his leg, added prestige to Santa Anna. The war ended by the recognition of the French claims, made up for the most part by the claim of one single individual, a French baker residing in Mexico This suggested the name by which the war is known.

Antagonism to the Centralist Constitution of 1836 resulted in several uprisings. One of these was led by Mariano Paredes y Arrillaga, who had the support of Santa Anna and the conservative classes. On September 28, 1841, the Plan of Tacubaya was proclaimed, advocating the overthrow of the government and the calling of a congress to formulate a new constitution Bustamante was compelled to resign On October 7, General Santa Anna entered the capital and two days later he was declared provisional executive

The *Bases Orgánicas* of 1843. A congress controlled by the Liberals met on June 10, 1842. But the constitution

drafted was rejected by Santa Anna, who also dissolved the congress and called together a Council of Notables. This council met in January, 1843, and a few months later adopted a new charter known as *Bases Orgánicas*, granting broad powers to the executive.

Under this constitution Santa Anna ruled as dictator amidst regal luxury. But the Liberals revolted. While he was away from the capital attempting to put down the revolution, the congress declared Santa Anna a rebel (December, 1844), and General José Joaquín de Herrera was chosen to replace him. Attacked by the forces of the new government, Santa Anna was defeated and captured near Jico, impeached and banished. He sailed to Habana on June 3, 1845.

Yucatan Attempts to Secede. Since about 1838 Yucatan had shown a tendency to separate from Mexico. On May 29, 1839, a revolution against the central government broke out in that province. The following February a federal form of government was adopted. The war continued until December of the following year, when a treaty which recognized the autonomy of Yucatan was negotiated between the central government and the Yucatan revolutionists. The treaty was rejected by Santa Anna, and war continued until 1843, when Yucatan's autonomy was recognized.

War with the United States. At this time relations with the United States became strained by unpaid claims arising from damages suffered by American citizens living in Mexico and by the introduction of bills in the Congress at Washington for the annexation of Texas. Taking advantage of this situation, General Mariano Paredes y Arrillaga, commander of the Mexican troops at San Luis Potosí, declared himself against the government, deposed Herrera, and assumed the government (January, 1846). He was backed by the Conservatives and the clergy.

Meanwhile, Texas had become a state in the American Union (December, 1845), and President Polk of the United States had sent an army to the region of the Río Grande del Norte under the command of General Taylor. There, on April 26, 1846, the American and Mexican forces clashed. The inci-

dent gave President Polk the opportunity, for which he had been waiting, to declare to the American Congress that a state of war already existed between the two nations

In the war that ensued Mexico had little chance of victory. The country was divided by political strife, her financial and economic forces were disrupted, and her army was poorly equipped. The American forces, despite the valiant resistance of the Mexicans at certain points, were rapidly able to occupy northern Mexico and later to invade the central region by way of Vera Cruz. Santa Anna, who had been returned to Mexico on an American man-of-war under the persuasion that he would put an end to the war, revived the Mexican hopes of victory and was elected provisional president (December, 1846). As the head of the national armies, he blundered and was defeated by General Winfield Scott. The latter entered the Mexican capital at the head of the American forces on September 14, 1847.

Meanwhile, an American army had also seized Alta California. Helpless, Mexico accepted peace terms dictated by the United States. The treaty of peace was signed at Guadalupe-Hidalgo on February 2, 1848, Mexico ceding Texas, New Mexico, and Alta California to the United States in exchange for payment by the United States of an indemnity of fifteen million dollars. The United States also agreed to pay any claims against Mexico by American citizens to the amount of three and one-quarter million dollars. As a result of this war Mexico lost more than half of its national territory.

Herrera, Arista, and Santa Anna. After the war General José Joaquín de Herrera was again elected president. He was faced by problems of reconstruction which were aggravated by an uprising of the Yucatan Indians. This uprising started in the middle of 1847 and is called the "War of Castes." It was a bloody affair, in which both whites and Indians showed the utmost cruelty and spirit of revenge. The Indians were at last subdued by the federal forces, and Yucatan, which during the war with the United States had declared itself neutral, was unconditionally incorporated into the Mexican nation on August 17, 1848.

Three years later (January 15, 1851), after one of the few peaceful elections the nation ever saw, General Mariano Arista was inaugurated president. But on July 26, 1852, a revolution broke out in Guadalajara favoring the recall of Santa Anna to the presidency. The revolution spread to other sections. Powerless to resist, Arista resigned on January 4, 1853. On April 20 of the same year, General Santa Anna was once more selected by a combination of Militarists, Clericals, and Conservatives.

Once in power, Santa Anna increased the army, imposed heavy taxes, and sold a strip of land called La Mesilla (Gadsden Purchase) to the United States (1853) for ten million dollars. Dissatisfaction was rife throughout the country. Santa Anna made himself objectionable to everyone by assuming the title of "His Most Serene Highness" and declaring himself permanent dictator.

In 1854 a French nobleman, Count Auguste de Raousset de Boulbon, with a motley army of adventurers, invaded the province of Sonora and Lower California with the intention of establishing an independent nation there. He was defeated by Mexican government soldiers, taken prisoner, and shot; his partners who were not killed, scattered to the four winds.

Revolutions broke out in various regions, and Santa Anna, unable to crush them, resigned, leaving the country on August 9, 1855. Thus ended the political career of a man who by his selfishness and incompetence brought more losses to his country than probably anyone else.

LIBERALISM AND DESPOTISM (1855—1910)

With the demise of General Santa Anna and the coming into power of a new group of people, mostly belonging to the middle class, Mexico was about to experience a radical change in her politics.

On October 4, 1855, one of Santa Anna's opponents, General Juan Álvarez, a full-blooded Indian, was elected president. Álvarez had signed the Plan of Ayutla, which voiced the opinions of all persons opposed to the political dominance of the

privileged classes. Once in power, the Liberals carried into effect some of the tenets of this Plan, striking at the privileges of the Church and the Military.

President Álvarez's cabinet soon divided itself into two factions: the *Puros*, who had radical ideas, and the *Moderados*, who wished to adopt a conciliatory attitude toward the Church and the landowning class. The latter were led by Ignacio Comonfort, Minister of War. Among the former was another full-blooded Indian, Benito Juárez, who had won a reputation for integrity and liberalism as governor of Oaxaca and as a member of the national congress. Born in Oaxaca of Zapotec stock, he was raised by an Italian trader and studied first for the Church; later he became a successful barrister in his state.

As Minister of Justice and Ecclesiastical Affairs, Juárez drafted a bill which was adopted by the congress and became known as the "Juárez Law" (November 23, 1855). This act, which limited the jurisdiction of military and ecclesiastical courts, increased the enemies of the administration. On December 1, 1855, President Álvarez was forced to resign in favor of Ignacio Comonfort. Despite continual unrest, the new president endeavored to carry into effect some of the liberal reforms of the Plan of Ayutla. The Society of Jesus was declared extinguished, and on June 25, 1856, another important piece of legislation, the "Lerdo Law"—named after Miguel Lerdo de Tejada, its proponent and a member of the cabinet—was passed in an effort to release from the dead weight of mortmain the enormous ecclesiastical holdings. From one-third to one-half of all valuable land in the republic belonged to the Church at this time. The new law provided for the sale of that land under favorable terms, the proceeds to revert to the Church.

The Constitution of 1857 and the "War of Reform." Despite the opposition, conspiracies, and even revolts inspired by the Church and by the conservative classes, a constituent assembly was summoned by President Comonfort, and a new constitution was adopted. This constitution, promulgated on February 5, 1857, represents the first effective step toward liberating the common people of Mexico from the dominance of the privileged classes. It granted freedom of speech and

liberty of the press; it abolished hereditary titles and forbade monopolies and the confiscation of property; a federal form of government was again established, the country being divided into twenty-three states and one territory; the supremacy of the State over the Church was recognized, and religious freedom was granted to all. This constitution remained in effect until 1917. It was, however, too far in advance of the political experience of the Mexican people as a whole.

The new constitution was strenuously opposed by the Conservatives, and Comonfort was forced to resign. Juárez, who was president of the supreme court of justice at the time, assumed the executive power in accordance with the constitution, on December 1, 1857. The Conservatives arose in rebellion against the government under the leadership of General Félix Zuloaga, who was proclaimed by them president of the republic on January 11, 1858. The war between the two governments lasted three years and is known as the "Three Years War" or "War of Reform" in Mexican history. During the struggle, Juárez and his cabinet had to leave the capital and take refuge, first in Guadalajara, where he was nearly assassinated, and later on in Vera Cruz. Fortunately for the Liberals, the Juárez government was recognized by the United States on April 6, 1859, and thus was enabled to negotiate foreign loans and to buy armaments. In July, Juárez issued the famous "Laws of Reform," disestablishing the Church and providing for the suppression of all religious orders and the confiscation of all ecclesiastical property not yet sold under the Lerdo Law. Civil registration of marriages, births, and deaths became compulsory.

By December, 1860, the conservative forces, divided among themselves, had been decisively defeated, and the following month Juárez returned to the capital. In June he was reëlected.

Foreign Invasion and Maximilian's Empire. For years foreign creditors had endeavored without success to secure the repayment of loans made to Mexico. Ill-advised, the Mexican congress, on July 17, 1861, declared the suspension for two years of the payment of all debts of the nation. England, France, and Spain decided to take action and at London

(October 31, 1861) signed an agreement to intervene jointly in Mexico to protect the interests of their nationals. An expedition was sent to Vera Cruz, and that port was occupied (January, 1862). Negotiations with the Mexican government failed to bring about satisfactory results. Nevertheless, when it became apparent that France wished to conquer the country, instead of merely to collect the claims of her nationals, the British and Spanish forces withdrew.

Napoleon III, then Emperor of France, under the influence of his wife, Empress Eugénie, and some Mexican Conservatives, had conceived the dream of establishing a great Catholic empire in Mexico to serve as a bulwark against further expansion of the United States, and to provide France with raw materials.

The Mexican Clericals and Conservatives saw an opportunity of permanently overthrowing the Liberals. In April, 1862, General Juan Nepomuceno Almonte declared himself against Juárez and in favor of a stable government under French control. French troops began the conquest of the country. Although defeated near Puebla (May 5, 1862), they eventually captured the capital, which had been abandoned by President Juárez a short while before. On July 8, an assembly of notables convened under the auspices of the French and adopted a limited hereditary monarchy as the form of government, inviting the Archduke Ferdinand Maximilian Joseph, a brother of Franz Joseph, Emperor of Austria, and a Hapsburg descendant of Charles I, to rule over the Mexican empire.

On May 28, 1864, Maximilian and his wife Carlotta landed in Mexico. The French, under the command of General Bazaine, were in control of the central part of the country, while Juárez and his partisans were in the north, near the United States border, keeping up a desultory war against the French.

Maximilian was well-meaning but he had little practical sense or experience in government. He antagonized the Church by refusing to return its recently nationalized property. He also indulged in reckless spending. On the other hand, the United States government, after the Civil War, not only refused to deal with Maximilian, but continued to recognize the Juárez government and demanded the withdrawal of

the French from Mexico. Left without the necessary support, Maximilian was surrounded in Querétaro by Juárez's forces and surrendered. Captured by treachery, he was tried, condemned, and despite pressure from foreign governments, shot by a firing squad on June 19, 1867.

Opposition to Juárez. On July 15, 1867, President Juárez reentered the capital. The following December he caused himself to be reelected. However, there were those who, out of personal ambition or fear that Juárez might make himself dictator, opposed the president. Among these was a young *Mestizo* born in Oaxaca, who had distinguished himself in the war against the French. This man, named Porfirio Díaz, was soon to become the supreme ruler of Mexico.

Juárez set himself to reorganize the nation, but revolutions in various parts of the country broke out as a protest against his reelection. Suddenly, on July 18, 1872, he died of heart failure. The president of the supreme court, Sebastián Lerdo de Tejada, assumed the executive power.

The new president continued Juárez's policies. In 1875 he caused himself to be elected. Porfirio Díaz led the opposition in revolt against the government. On March 22, he proclaimed a new scheme of government (Plan of La Noria) favoring the fulfillment of the Constitution of 1857 and non-reelection. Defeated at first, and forced to leave the country for a while, Díaz returned to Mexico and on November 16, 1876, at Tecoac, he in turn defeated the government forces. On May 2, 1877, he was recognized as the executive by the Mexican congress.

Díaz as Dictator. Thus began what is generally known as the "Age of Díaz." Porfirio Díaz was a man of great power and shrewdness. Under his strong administration, internal peace was established and Mexico recovered from the effects of its many revolutions and wars. To maintain order, Díaz created a mounted police force, the *Rurales*, recruited in many cases from among ex-bandits. He rid the army of turbulent officers, and by assassination or imprisonment he did away with his most dangerous enemies. Careful to render lip service to the Constitution of 1857, he built up a strong, centralized,

and effective government machinery through which he controlled all branches of public administration both in the federal government and in the states. Elections continued to be held as prescribed by the constitution, but no one was ever elected without his consent. The congress passed all his bills, and no others. Local politics were managed by Díaz through local political leaders.

In the beginning of his rule, Díaz reorganized the civil service on sound foundations, remodeled the consular service, and improved the finances of the nation. He also gradually gave back to the Church the property recently confiscated and allowed the rich landowners to despoil the peasant communes of their lands. He particularly fostered the economic progress of the nation by granting general concessions to foreign capitalists. The latter, at the end of the Díaz régime, became the real masters of Mexico. On the other hand, social legislation was lacking. Popular education was deficient. The agricultural workers continued to live in virtual servitude.

With the exception of the period of 1880 to 1884, when General Manuel González was allowed to fill out the term for which he was elected—under congressional provision that no president might succeed himself—Díaz, who was again elected in 1884, remained in power until 1911.

THE MEXICAN REVOLUTION SINCE 1911

President Díaz allowed the conservative classes to regain most of their lost privileges at the expense of the lower classes. The latter, especially the peasants, were now worse off than at any time since independence. All liberal-minded persons chafed under the Díaz dictatorship, and when, in 1908, the dictator insincerely declared to an American journalist that he would allow the Mexican people to choose their next president freely at the elections of that year, they sprang to action.

Francisco I. Madero, a wealthy Liberal of high ideals, became the candidate of the opposition. When he charged Díaz with numerous irregularities, he was arrested and tried for sedition. While in jail, Madero drafted a proclamation

(Plan of San Luis) favoring the overthrowing of the dictator and the redistribution of the land among the peasants, as well as other reforms.

By November, 1910, the whole country was in a turmoil. The government troops proved unable decisively to defeat the revolutionists. The latter were united under the battle cry of "Effectual Suffrage, Non-Reelection, and Redistribution of Land." On May 25, 1911, Díaz, now a man of eighty-five, gave up the struggle, resigned, and left the country with his family a few days later. Madero entered the capital, was recognized president, and assumed the executive power on December 11, 1911.

Thus begins the period known as the "Mexican Revolution," during which the common people succeed in freeing themselves from the control of the conservative classes.

Madero, Huerta, and Carranza. For the next few years the country was in constant turmoil. Madero showed himself weak and impractical. He forgot his promised reforms and became more and more dependent on the army for support. The latter was commanded by General Victoriano Huerta. A number of uprisings occurred. Between February 9 and 18, 1913, during the so-called "Tragic Ten Days" (*La Decena Trágica*), there was fighting continuously in the capital. Huerta betrayed the president and joined the rebels, whom he in turn also betrayed. He next caused the president to be arrested. While Madero was being removed from one prison to another, he was assassinated.

Thereupon, Huerta made himself dictator. He attempted to pacify the country, but without success. Several revolutions broke out under the leadership of Venustiano Carranza, Francisco "Pancho" Villa, Emiliano Zapata, and others. Huerta's difficulties were increased by the refusal of recognition on the part of the United States government. The tension between the two countries increased when, in March, 1914, a party of American marines was arrested in Tampico. Huerta apologized but refused to salute the American flag, as demanded by President Wilson. This resulted in the seizure of Vera Cruz by American forces on April 1. War was averted only by the European situation and by the offer of good offices on the

part of Argentina, Brazil, and Chile (the so-called ABC countries). Huerta resigned (July 15, 1914) and left the country, as did many wealthy aristocrats and clergymen.

On August 20, 1914, General Carranza became the executive and was recognized as *de facto* president of Mexico by the United States government. The following year he summoned a constituent assembly to draft a new constitution embodying the principles of the Revolution

Meanwhile, a council of revolutionary generals assembled in Aguascalientes. Dominated by Villa, this group selected General Eulalio Gutiérrez to rule the country, replacing Carranza. The latter abandoned the capital and took refuge in Vera Cruz. Gutiérrez occupied Mexico City, but another convention of revolutionary leaders gathered, refused to recognize his authority, and proceeded to govern the country in its own name. At this time Álvaro Obregón, in command of Carranza's forces, defeated and annihilated Villa's army, entered the capital, and dismissed the convention. A few months later Carranza returned to the capital and was installed as president.

Relations with the United States continued to be strained, because of the murder of several American citizens and the destruction of American property by soldiers of Villa, followed by an attack on Columbus, New Mexico (March 9, 1916). This resulted in an American punitive military expedition against Villa, led by General Pershing in the latter part of that year. This expedition accomplished little and returned to the United States after some fruitless maneuvering in northern Mexico.

The Constitution of 1917. On December 1, 1916, the constituent assembly called by President Carranza met at Querétaro, and on February 5, 1917, a new constitution was promulgated, similar in some respects to the one of 1857, but containing several new provisions of radical character. Among these, Article 27 provided that the Church could not acquire, hold, or administer real property and stated that the ownership of the land and water within the republic was originally vested in the Mexican people; Article 33 conferred upon the president the power to expel without judicial process any foreigner whose presence in Mexico might be deemed inex-

pedient; and Article 123 provided that workers in industrial or commercial enterprises should have the right to share in the profits of those undertakings and be allowed the right to strike. The new constitution also provided for the distribution of land among the indigent agricultural *peons*.

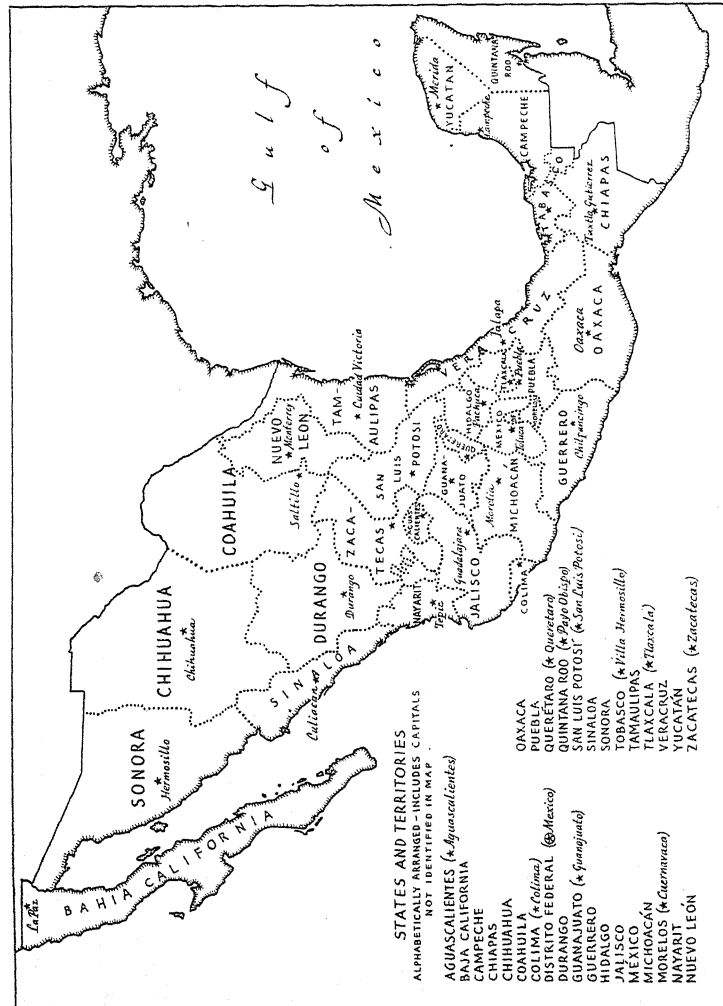


Fig. 31. Mexico: Political Divisions.

During the remainder of his administration Carranza showed himself unwilling to carry out in full the program of

the Revolution and attempted to dictate the election of his successor. This resulted in revolutions, during which he was assassinated, and General Obregón assumed the executive power. On April 10, 1919, Emiliano Zapata, a representative of the common people fighting for land distribution, was captured and killed in an ambush prepared under the orders of President Carranza.

Reforms Under the New Constitution. President Obregón, inaugurated on December 1, 1920, endeavored to enforce the new constitution. A number of laws on financial, educational, and land questions were promulgated. The large estates were abolished, and land was distributed among the peasants. The industrial workers were organized into labor unions. The army was reorganized. The president also endeavored to settle difficulties with the United States, his efforts resulting in the recognition of his government (August 31, 1923).

Obregón was succeeded by General Plutarco Elías Calles in 1924. The new president enforced the religious provisions of the constitution and carried out an extensive program of educational reforms and land distribution. In 1928 the constitution was amended, extending the presidential term to six years and allowing the president to choose the supreme court judges.

Wide opposition from the Catholic Church resulted in arrests, executions, and the assassination of General Obregón in July, 1928, by a religious fanatic, after Obregón had been declared elected to succeed President Calles. Emilio Portes Gil was chosen chief executive for a term ending in 1930. In the elections of 1929 Pascual Ortiz Rubio, candidate of the National Revolutionary party, was elected. Despite attempts from the Conservative elements to prevent his inauguration, Ortiz Rubio became president on February 5, 1930. Three years later he resigned because of a quarrel with General Calles, leader of the Revolutionary party. General Abelardo L. Rodríguez then became provisional president, and on November 30, 1934, he was succeeded by General Lázaro Cárdenas, elected for a term ending in 1940.

During the last few years conditions in Mexico have improved considerably. A labor code was promulgated on August 28, 1931, and a civil code, adopted in 1928, became effective on October 1, 1932. In 1933 a Six Year Plan was adopted to hasten the socialization of Mexico, aiming at improving the standard of living of workers, promoting public education, completing agrarian and public works programs, and improving foreign relations.

President Cárdenas, a descendant of Tarascán Indians, was able to consolidate his power with the aid of the labor unions and the agrarian party, even to the point of forcing General Calles to relinquish the leadership of the party and to leave the country (1935).

Cárdenas endeavored to carry out the principles of the Revolution in their fullness. He increased the number of public schools; redistributed to the *peons* some twenty-four million acres of land; improved means of communication by building auto roads and railroads; fostered betterment of the conditions of industrial workers by sponsoring the organization of a new labor union, the Confederation of Mexican Workers, and aiding them to secure higher wages; and carried out a program of nationalization of the great industries by securing the adoption of a stringent expropriation law in 1936 and two years later by taking over the oil wells from the foreign corporations, when the latter refused to increase the wages of their laborers and adopt other welfare measures as provided in a decision of the federal labor board (December 18, 1937), later sustained by a decision of the supreme court (March 1, 1938). In May, 1940, President Cárdenas was able to sign an agreement settling with one of the oil companies and in the early part of 1941 it was announced that the Mexican government was about to settle with the other companies which had previously exploited the confiscated oil wells property.

The presidential elections of 1940 were contested mainly by General Manuel Avila Camacho, official or government candidate, and General Juan Andreu Almazán, independent candidate—who was endeavoring to unify all opposition

parties. Despite unrest and threats of revolt, the government candidate, General Avila Camacho, was declared elected and was inaugurated on December 1, 1940. The inaugural ceremonies were attended by Vice-President-elect of the United States, Henry Wallace, who represented the American government as special ambassador of President Roosevelt.

Soon after his inauguration President Avila Camacho restored to the Church a good deal of its lost influence, reformed the judiciary, and took other measures of conservative character.

In the early part of 1941 it was announced that the governments of the United States and Mexico were negotiating for united action for the defense of their respective territories in case of foreign aggression.

ECONOMIC, SOCIAL, AND CULTURAL DEVELOPMENT

Economic Development. Although Mexico's greatest source of wealth is to be found in its mines and petroleum

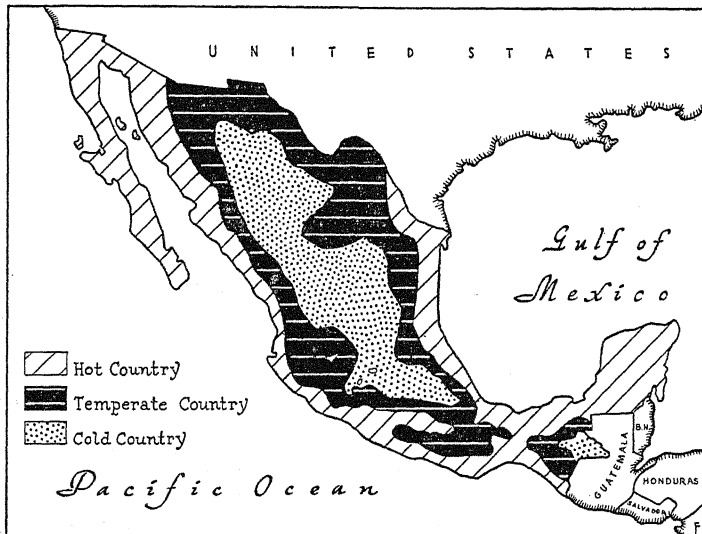


Fig. 32. Climatic map of Mexico.

deposits, agriculture is the basic occupation of the people. Variations of climate and soil permit a great diversification

of crops, ranging from henequén fiber in the lowlands to wheat produced in the highlands of the plateaus. The government has endeavored to help the rural population by the extension of agricultural credits, the promotion of irrigation projects in semi-arid and arid regions, mass education, and the division of lands. Corn is the most important staple of Mexico. Very little of it is exported, however, as virtually the entire crop is required for domestic consumption. Beans, chick-peas, and other grains are also produced. Cotton is produced on about 550,000 acres, its annual production being about 300,000 bales of 507 pounds each, mostly consumed within the country. Henequén fiber is cultivated in Yucatan and Campeche. Approximately 210,000 acres are devoted to this crop, and about 100,000 tons are produced and exported annually to the United

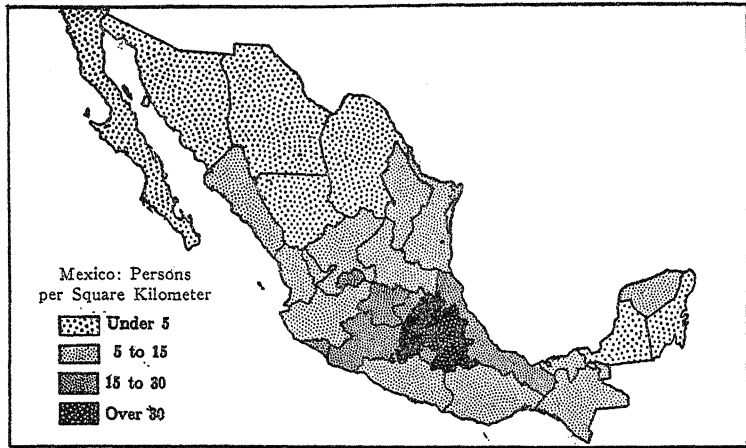


Fig. 33. Mexico: Persons per Square Kilometer. (Map reproduced with permission from *The Mexican Agrarian Revolution* by Frank Tannenbaum, published by The Macmillan Company for The Brookings Institution, New York, 1929.)

States, Canada, and other countries. Bananas, to the amount of four million bunches, were exported in 1932 and over fifteen million bunches were sent out in 1936. Wheat is produced on about 1,300,000 acres. Other important products are chicle, coffee, winter vegetables, and fruits, of which a great deal is exported to the United States during the winter months.

Mexico is one of the richest mineral countries in the world. During the last few years minerals were exported to the amount of approximately fifty per cent of the value of

Mexico's total exports Mexico is the leading producer of silver in the world, its annual production being around eighty million ounces, or more than forty per cent of the whole world's output Gold is also produced in an amount equalling about eighty million pesos yearly

About forty million barrels of petroleum are produced each year. The Mexican oil fields are situated along the east coast in the states of Tamaulipas and Vera Cruz, and in the northeastern section of the Isthmus of Tehuantepec The total investment in this industry is estimated at about 500 million dollars, most of which represents British and United States capital

Manufacturing is devoted principally to furnishing goods to the nation's population The total number of industrial establishments is estimated at 48,540, while the total investment is about a billion pesos

Mexico has some 14,500 miles of railroads connecting the various sections of the country with the capital and the coast cities Trunk lines extend from the northern to the southern border, and ports on the eastern and western coasts are connected by rail with each other and with other sections Within the last few years the government has carried out an extensive program of highway construction There are at present about 57,000 miles of roads, most of them, however, not traversable by automobile or truck. The most recently completed major highway is that extending for 763 miles from Nuevo Laredo, across from Laredo, Texas, to Mexico City Commercial aviation has also expanded rapidly

Social Development. At the time of the last census (1930), the population of Mexico was 16,552,722. Most of this population live in the rural districts and in small towns. The capital, Mexico City, has a population estimated at approximately one and a quarter millions. Measured by standards of living in the United States, most Mexicans live in relative poverty. However, this is not a fair standard to apply to a people living in a country so different from the United States as Mexico is. Although deficient in many modern improvements and appliances which are considered essential in the United States, most Mexicans live the contented life of the

rural population with a sufficient amount of the essentials of life. The industrial and agricultural laborer's standard of living has improved a great deal during the last few years because of social and labor legislation adopted by the government.

The nation as a whole has lately become self-conscious of its Indian origins, and a revaluation of western civilization in terms of the Indian is in progress which promises to result in interesting developments.

Public Education. The responsibility for public education is shared jointly by the federal government and the states. Primary education is free and compulsory. More than 1,000 schools are supported by the federal government in urban communities in addition to nearly 14,000 in rural districts. Including the schools supported by the states there are today about 20,000 schools, with nearly 46,000 teachers and an enrolment of about 2,000,000 pupils. More than 600 libraries have been established, many of them in remote districts. A good deal of emphasis has been given to rural education. Cultural missions, composed of educators, health workers, teachers of music, singing, plastic arts and handicrafts, moving picture operators, and authorities on community leadership, are regularly sent out to the rural districts. The education of the Indians is under the supervision of a special division in the department of education. There are about 4,000 secondary schools, with an enrolment of approximately 8,000 students. The National University, in the capital, is the outstanding institution of higher learning. There are other similar institutions at Mérida, Guadalajara, Morelia, and San Luis Potosí. In the capital there are also the Workers University, the School of Mines, the Military Academy, the Conservatory of Music, and a School of Library Science.

Literary and Artistic Development. Mexico has a varied and rich literature. Among the most important writers are the following: Ignacio Rodríguez Galván (1816-1842), a dramatist of romantic inspiration, author of *Múñoz*, *Visitador de México*, *La Hija del oidor*, *La Visión de Moctezuma*, and many other works; Fernando Calderó y Beltrán (1809-1845), also a dramatist, author of *Reynaldo y Elina*, *El Torneo*, and of lyric

poetry; José María Roa Bárcena (1827-1908), a poet and author of the *Ensayo de una historia anecdótica de México* and *Leyendas mexicanas*; Juan Díaz Covarrubias (1837-1859), poet and novelist, author of *Gil Gómez, el insurgente*; Ignacio Manuel Altamirano (1834-1893), poet, essayist, novelist, José Joaquín Fernández de Lizardi (1774-1827), novelist, author of *Periquillo sarniento*, still read today, Justo Sierra (1814-1861), novelist, author of *Un Año en el hospital de San Lázaro, La Hija del judío*; Pantaleón Tovar (1828-1876), novelist inspired by social conditions in Mexico; Vicente Riva Palacio (1832-1896), author of *Calvario y tabor*, an historical novel; Manuel Sánchez Mármol (1839-1912), a very fertile novelist, author of *El Misionero de la Cruz, Pocahontas, Juanita Sousa*; Alfonso M. Maldonado (b. 1849), author of *Nobles y plebeos*, and other novels; Manuel José Othón (1858-1906), one of the best Mexican poets; Manuel Gutiérrez Nájera (1859-1895), a poet of gentle melancholy; Federico Gamboa (b. 1864), realistic novelist of merit; Amado Nervo (1870-1919), the greatest modernist poet of Latin America after Rubén Darío; Mariano Azuela (b. 1873), one of the greatest modern novelists of America, author of *Los de abajo, La Malhora, La Luciérnaga*, Martín Luis Guzmán, author of *El Águila y la Serpiente* and *La Sombra del caudillo*, powerful novels of the Mexican Revolution; Gregorio López y Fuentes (b. 1895), author of *Campamento, Mi General, and El Indio*; Xavier Icaza, Jr., author of *Panchito chapopote*, a very humorous novel in the modern manner; Rafael F. Muñoz, author of *Vámonos con Pancho Villa, Si me han de matar mañana, El Hombre malo*, and many other popular novels; Nellie Campobello, author of *Cartucho*; Cipriano Campos Alatorre, author of *Los Fusilados*; José Manuel Puig Cassauranc, author of *Los Juan López Sánchez y López Sánchez de López*, a novel; José Mancisidor, Francisco Sarquis, and Lorenzo Turrent, recent revolutionary writers.

In recent years the plastic arts have been intensively cultivated in Mexico. Among the most important artists, the following may be mentioned: Diego Rivera, the best known of the Mexican painters; Roberto Montenegro, Adolfo Best Maugard, Rodríguez Lozano, José del Pozo, Francisco Gómez Rul, Alfonso Cardone, Saturnino Herrán, José Clemente

Orozco, Agustín Velázquez Chávez, David Alfaro Siqueiros, Rufino Tamayo, Julio Castellanos—all painters, sculptors, such as Gabriel Guerra, Manuel de Arzave, and Luis Hidalgo

In music, Mexico has for many years been famous for its folk songs of great beauty. In recent years two great composers have appeared—Manuel Ponce and Carlos Chávez, the latter being one of the outstanding musical composers of the whole continent at the present time. Daniel Ayala and Luis Sandi should also be named.

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CHAPTER SIXTEEN

CENTRAL AMERICA

The disastrous consequences to the body politic derived from the lack of a self-conscious middle class are more noticeable in Central America than perhaps in any other Latin American group of countries. Here, too, the privileged classes have struggled to remain in control of government, opposed by a few well-intentioned, but inexperienced Liberals, while the common people in general have looked upon the struggle with indifference. The consequences have been revolutions, despotism, and general chaos.

The history of Central America will be studied here under two main headings: United Central America, from independence to 1838; and Divided Central America, from the extinction of the Central American Confederation to the present time.

UNITED CENTRAL AMERICA TO 1838

Before independence, the territory of Central America formed the Captaincy General of Guatemala, including the province of Guatemala, the intendancies of Chiapas, San Salvador, Nicaragua, and Honduras, and the government of Costa Rica. A section of Nicaragua and Honduras, on the Caribbean (Mosquito Land or Mosquitia), was inhabited by wild Indians. During colonial days these people maintained their independence from Spain. Buccaneers established posts along the coast. Gradually British settlements grew there. In 1786 Spain recognized British sovereignty over a portion of Yucatan and present Guatemala in exchange for the withdrawal of the British from the rest of Central America. Today this territory forms the British colony of Belize (British Honduras)

Of the other Central American provinces, Chiapas declared its independence at about the same time as the rest (1821), but separated from Guatemala and adhered to the Mexican Empire independently, remaining as part of that country to the present day; and Soconusco, also a part of Guatemala, was annexed to Mexico in 1842. The other five provinces formed the present nations: Guatemala, Honduras, El Salvador, Nicaragua, and Costa Rica. Panama, occupying the rest of the Isthmus, was part of Colombia until 1903, and will be studied in a subsequent chapter.

Central America as Part of Mexico. In 1821 Agustín de Iturbide, Emperor of Mexico, wrote to the patriot junta of Guatemala urging that Guatemala join to Mexico. Despite the opposition from many patriots, the local aristocracy was able to bring about a favorable decision. On January 5, 1822, Central America was declared annexed to Mexico. Deputies were then sent to the Mexican capital, where the imperial congress declared the people of Central America, Mexican citizens.

Nevertheless, sections of El Salvador, Honduras, and Nicaragua held aloof, and Iturbide sent an army under the command of Brigadier Vicente Filísola to enforce his authority there. Filísola had just finished establishing order when he received the news of Iturbide's abdication. He immediately called a general congress of the Central American provinces. This congress met on June 24, 1823, and declared the former provinces of Guatemala free and independent as a confederation under the name of *Provincias Unidas del Centro de América*. Their independence was soon after acknowledged by the Mexican republic (August 1, 1824). Filísola and his soldiers left Central America in August, 1823.

The United Provinces of Central America. The same congress then proceeded to discuss and adopt a constitution and to legislate in regard to various matters. This assembly was presided over by the distinguished patriot, José Matías Delgado, known as the "Father of the Central American Fatherland." Two major parties or factions appeared: the *Serviles*, who wished to have a centralized and strong government; and the *Radicales*, who favored a federal republic and the abolition of the abuses and privileges of the conservative

classes. A provisional governing junta was appointed. The constitution adopted (promulgated on November 22, 1824) was modeled after that of the United States. It provided for a federal government of the five states (Chiapas was not included, although given an opportunity to join later on), with the traditional division of powers. The executive power was to be exercised by a federal president and a chief of state for each of the confederated states. No provision was made for the establishment of a federal capital. Guatemala City, the stronghold of the Conservatives, became the seat of the federal government. Slavery was abolished by the assembly (April 17-23, 1824), and the Catholic faith was declared that of the State.

When the first congress met under the new constitution, it elected Manuel José Arce, a Liberal, president of the Confederation, and José Cecilio del Valle, a Conservative, as vice-president. The latter refused to accept the position and was substituted by Mariano Beltranena.

Although well-intentioned, Arce soon quarreled with his own party and with the state authorities of Guatemala. When he summoned an extraordinary congress to deal with the political situation in that state, a military uprising took place in El Salvador under the pretext that the president had exceeded his powers (December 6, 1826). Other states (Honduras, Nicaragua, and Costa Rica) joined El Salvador, and in 1828 General Francisco Morazán at the head of a Honduran army defeated the federal forces and compelled them to evacuate El Salvador, which they had invaded in an effort to quell the rebellion. Morazán then entered El Salvador's capital in triumph and collecting new forces, marched against Guatemala City. Although repulsed at first, he later defeated the federal forces again, captured the city (April 13, 1829), and established a military dictatorship. The congress was recalled and a new president, Pedro Molina, was elected. Many Conservative leaders, including several churchmen, were expelled. The monasteries were abolished, except the Bethlehem Order, to which was entrusted the conduct of religious services. Church and monastical property was confiscated.

Morazán's Régime. In 1830 General Morazán was elected president of the Confederation. He was a man of

strong character, cultured, capable, and liberal-minded. During his ten years of administration he promoted public education, fostered the industries and commerce, and reorganized the administrative machinery. He also encouraged immigration. The crime code, drafted by Edward Livingston for Louisiana and rejected by that state, was adopted in Central America in 1832. Marriage became a civil contract, and the civil registration of births and deaths was made compulsory. In 1835 Morazán moved the capital to San Salvador.

These reforms stirred the antagonism of the conservative classes. Several uprisings took place. An epidemic of cholera was attributed to the government, which, so the country people were told, had caused the waters to be poisoned in order to destroy all the Indian population. The latter rose in rebellion. Their leader was a half-caste, named Rafael Carrera, born in Guatemala of the humblest parents. Although illiterate, he possessed great native powers of leadership and inspired his Indian soldiers with absolute devotion to him. Under the battle cry of "Long Live Religion, and Death to Foreigners," Carrera and his followers murdered several judges appointed under the Livingston code and committed all sorts of depredations. Defeated in the first encounters with the government forces and compelled to take refuge in the mountains, Carrera rallied his forces and in 1838 marched against Guatemala City. The authorities of that city warded him off by paying him a large ransom. Carrera then marched against the city of Mita, which he occupied. There followed a series of battles in which Carrera was sometimes defeated and sometimes victorious over the government troops.

The Collapse of the Confederation. In the midst of this turmoil the Confederation collapsed. Authorized by the federal congress, which on May 18, 1838, passed an act permitting the various states to assume the form of government they wished, Nicaragua declared herself independent, followed by Honduras and Costa Rica.

General Morazán was elected head of the government of El Salvador on July 8, 1839. Suspicious of his intentions, the other states made war against him. In this struggle Carrera, then in control of Guatemala, joined against Morazán, who

was defeated and in 1840 compelled to leave the country. There followed a general massacre of Liberals throughout Central America.

In 1842 Morazán returned to Central America, overthrew the dictator, Braulio Carrillo, of Costa Rica, was himself elected president of that country, and at once endeavored again to bring about the union of the several states. Defeated once more by the united forces of the other states, he was captured, condemned to death, and shot on September 15, 1842.

The same year delegates from El Salvador, Honduras, and Nicaragua met at Chinandega to draft a new constitution creating a league of states to be called "The Central American Confederation." This league ended two years later in war between Honduras and Nicaragua. Since then, from time to time other attempts have been made to bring about the union of all or some of the Central American states. These attempts have all failed, in great measure because of regional jealousies. (See Chapter XXII for further details.)

DIVIDED CENTRAL AMERICA SINCE 1838

GUATEMALA

Among the Central American states, Guatemala has suffered perhaps the most from despotism. From the dissolution of the Confederation to the present time, her politics have been under the control of four strong men: Rafael Carrera, (1838-1865); Justo Rufino Barrios (1873-1885); Manuel Estrada Cabrera (1896-1920), and Jorge Ubico (1931 to the present).

The Rule of Carrera. From 1838 to his death, in 1865, the absolute ruler of Guatemala was Rafael Carrera. In 1839 he deposed General Carlos Salazar, who was president, and put Mariano Rivera Paz in his place. One of the first acts of Rivera Paz was to declare the independence of Guatemala. In 1843 Carrera himself became the president. He made war against the neighboring nations whenever their governments did not suit his own ideas. He had a particular grudge against all Liberals and took great pleasure in helping to overthrow Liberal presidents in El Salvador and Honduras. Compelled to retire from power in 1847, he came back two years later as

commander of the army In 1851 he was elected president once more and three years later he was declared president for life.

The Rule of Barrios. After Carrera's death in 1865, another Conservative, Vicente Cerna, became president But in 1871 the Liberals regained control of the government, under the leadership of Justo Rufino Barrios, who ruled despotically for twelve years (1873-1885) He was a man of progressive ideas and brought about many reforms. railroads were built, public education was fostered, and the country experienced a certain amount of economic prosperity. During his régime many large landowners were deprived of their property, several Conservative leaders were exiled, and the religious orders were expelled On December 11, 1879, a new Liberal constitution was promulgated.

In 1885 President Barrios was killed while engaged in war against El Salvador in an endeavor to bring about once more the union of the Central American states Manuel Lisandro Barillas thereupon became president and ruled until 1892 In November, 1887, the constitution was amended to allow the election of the president by direct popular vote and to extend the presidential term to six years

After Barillas, José María Reyna Barrios, a nephew of the great Liberal leader, became president, being elected in a comparatively free election. In 1897 he made himself dictator and was assassinated the following year Manuel Estrada Cabrera, vice-president, became acting executive and later was regularly elected to the presidency of the republic

The Rule of Cabrera. Cabrera was a cultured, suave, but ruthless man who ruled for twenty-two consecutive years He suppressed his enemies and intimidated the legislature into complete obedience to his wishes There were many revolutions during his régime In 1906 a revolt led by General Barillas spread to other Central American states. The United States and Mexico intervened, offering their mediation, with the result that a Central American Peace Conference assembled in Washington (1907) and a Central American Court of Justice was created to settle disputes between any of the Central American states. The representatives of the five states

signed a treaty of peace and friendship, another of extradition, a convention on the Court of Justice, and another establishing an International Bureau and a Pedagogic Institute. The Court of Justice was inaugurated in Cartago, Costa Rica, on May 25, 1908, and the International Bureau was opened on September 15 of the same year in Guatemala.

Several cases were submitted to the Court, but it ceased to function after Nicaragua, in 1918, refused to recognize the Court's jurisdiction in a decision regarding the Bryan-Chamorro Treaty with the United States.

In 1920 Cabrera was finally overthrown, being succeeded first by Carlos Herrera y Luna and a few months later by General José María Orellana, who governed until his death on September 26, 1926.

General Lázaro Chacón was the next president. In 1928 the constitution was again amended to provide for universal suffrage. General Chacón's administration was a progressive one; but in 1930, because of a serious illness, he retired, and a Conservative, Baudilio Palma, was elected provisional president. Palma was forced to resign, being replaced by General Manuel Orellana. The United States did not recognize his government, and on January 3, 1931, the national assembly elected José M. Reyna Andrade to rule during President Chacón's illness. The latter, however, died on April 10, 1931, while away in search of medical assistance for his ailments, and General Jorge Ubico was regularly elected for a term of six years, expiring on February 14, 1937.

The Rule of Ubico. General Ubico gradually assumed the dictatorship of the country. He carried out certain reforms: wages were improved under government legislation; the Alien Law was amended to afford a certain measure of protection to native workers and business men against foreign competition; and means of communication were improved. In 1936 a reciprocal trade agreement was signed with the United States, and treaties of limits were made with El Salvador and Honduras settling the boundary question with those two nations. Revolutions were severely suppressed. In 1935 a "plebiscite" called by a constituent convention provided for General Ubico's continuation in office without reelection. The

following year the president announced that he would remain in power for another period of six years at the expiration of his term in 1937.

When General Ubico assumed the presidency in 1931 the public debt of Guatemala was \$22,237,315, of which \$6,426,977 represented internal indebtedness. By refunding the bonds held by United States citizens and other measures, President Ubico was able to reduce the public debt to \$10,246,507 (April, 1940). The Financial Committee of the Guatemalan Congress voted, on that account, to make a gift of \$80,000 to President Ubico.

There were, however, some people in Guatemala who criticized the administration and conspired against the President. On December 28, 1940, thirteen would-be rebels were shot by order of General Ubico.

Economic, Social, and Cultural Development. Guatemala is the largest of the Central American republics. Her population of over two millions forms about 40 per cent of the total population of the Isthmus, and her commerce is greater than that of any of the other four states. Her military strength has enabled her rulers to interfere constantly in the internal affairs of the neighboring states, with disastrous effects upon the general peace of Central America. The great majority of the people are pure-blooded Indians, who have retained the languages and customs of their Mayan ancestors.

Coffee is the leading article of Guatemalan production and export. There are nearly 2,000 plantations, producing approximately 130 million pounds of coffee. About 80 per cent of this production is exported. Bananas are also produced and exported. Sugar is a fast-growing industry, its annual production being over 142 million pounds. Cotton is produced and is a profitable crop, since the boll weevil is not found in the country. Lately, several oil corporations, financed by American and Guatemalan capital, have prospected for oil in different sections of the republic. In 1934 a new mining and petroleum law was enacted, with highly favorable provisions to operating companies. The cattle industry is developing fast, the total number of domestic animals in the country being estimated at one million and a half. Manufacturing is

limited to textiles, and a few products of local consumption are also made. There are 850 miles of railroads and 3,000 miles of highways in the republic.

Primary schools number about 1,900, with a total registration of 81,000 pupils and 33,000 teachers. There are three public secondary schools and a National University, besides several technical schools.

Many native Guatemalan writers have achieved fame outside of their country. One of these was Antonio José de Irisarri (1786—1868), a wealthy man who went to live in Peru and Chile, where he played an important part in the independence movement. He founded periodicals which greatly influenced cultural development in South America. He also wrote poetry. Another distinguished writer born in Guatemala was José de Batres y Montúfar (1809-1844), a poet of note and a writer of prose. Other writers were: Juan Diéguez (1813-1866), a popular poet, José Milla (1822-1882), a prolific writer who is the author of a *Historia de Guatemala* and several historical novels; Máximo Soto Hall, historian and journalist; and José Cecilio del Valle (1780-1834), a sociologist and a thinker far ahead of his time.

HONDURAS

Political Affairs. Honduras was ruled by the Liberals from the dissolution of the Confederation to 1840, when President Carrera of Guatemala aided the Conservatives to overthrow the party in power. From that year to 1852 the country was ruled directly or indirectly by Francisco Ferrera. Honduras participated in the Chinandega congress to organize a confederation between El Salvador, Nicaragua, and Honduras. But the confederation lasted only until 1845, ending in war between the three states.

In 1855 the Liberal president, Trinidad Cabañas, was overthrown by Carrera of Guatemala, being replaced by a Conservative named Santos Guardiola. Seven years later, however, the latter was assassinated, and his successor, Victoriano Castellanos, who engaged in war against Guatemala and Nicaragua, aided by El Salvador, was defeated. He was forced to resign and was followed by José María Medina.

From 1872, when President Medina was overthrown, to 1911, Honduras had the following principal presidents: Ponciano Leiva, who was forced to resign by President Barrios of Guatemala; Marco Aurelio Soto, followed by Luis Bográn, who ruled for eight years; again Leiva who, was once more forced to leave the presidency; his successor, Domingo Vázquez, was not more fortunate, being forced to resign as a result of war with Nicaragua; Policarpo Bonilla, during whose administration the country was united with Nicaragua and El Salvador, General Terencio Sierra; and once more Bonilla, who quarreled with President Zelaya of Nicaragua involving his country in a dispute with that country and El Salvador. When war seemed imminent, the United States and Mexico offered their mediation and prevented bloodshed. At the Central American Conference held in Washington, D. C., in 1907, it was agreed that Honduras should henceforth always remain neutral in all Central American conflicts.

Miguel R. Dávila became president and ruled until 1911, when he was overthrown by Manuel Bonilla. The United States again mediated, and a conference took place on board the U. S. S. *Tacoma*. As a result, Bonilla was allowed to become president. When he died, in 1913, the vice-president, Dr. Francisco Bertrand, took his place. He was regularly elected for a term ending in 1920. The next executive was Rafael López Gutiérrez, who continued as a dictator after his term was over. Civil war having broken out as a consequence, the United States offered its mediation; and a new election was held. In 1924 Vicente Tosta was elected president. But the following year he was replaced by Miguel Paz Barahona, who was regularly elected for the term of 1925 to 1929. In that year Dr. Vicente Mejía Colindres was elected to serve until 1933. Several uprisings took place, particularly in 1931, when a revolution of Communist origin occurred.

In 1933 Tiburcio Carias Andino became president for a term to end in 1937. But in 1936 he pushed through the assembly a bill calling for the revision of the Constitution of 1924, nullifying the ban against reelection and extending the presidential term to six years. A constituent assembly met in 1936 and adopted a new constitution, which went into effect

on April 15 The incumbent president is to continue in office until January 1, 1943

Despite several uprisings, some economic progress has been made. A new agrarian law was passed on April 20, 1936, prohibiting the sale of land on the eastern coast, which led to the curtailment of the activities of the great banana companies and to consequent unemployment in that region

President Carias Andino has reorganized the country's administration by centralizing power in the hands of the executive From 1941 on he will appoint all District Commissions to replace most municipal régimes, under the terms of the 1936 Constitution. In 1939 Congress extended President Carias' term to 1949.

Economic, Social, and Cultural Development. Honduras occupies the middle position in the Isthmus Although large in territory, her soil is poor and her climate is not particularly favorable to human habitation The population (approximately one million) is composed mostly of mixed races Most of the primitive Indian tribes were exterminated during colonial days At the present time there are very few persons who are entirely white This country is the weakest of the Central American states, because of its sparse population and its geographical situation. It has been compelled to take part in almost every revolution and war that has taken place in Central America since independence

Its agricultural possibilities are extensive Cacao, cotton, sugar cane, coffee, tobacco, and other tropical and subtropical products can be grown However, lack of means of transportation has seriously hindered the country's development

Corn is the most important agricultural crop, but the whole production is consumed within the country. Bananas are the most important export product. The exports of this fruit to the United States have about trebled in recent years. Coffee is grown chiefly in the hill country, at altitudes of from 1,500 to 3,000 feet. Henequén is grown in the southern region In recent years tobacco has also merited the attention of progressive farmers. The country has about 500,000 head of cattle, and exports to the neighboring nations are regularly maintained.

Honduras is also rich in minerals. One mine, the famous Rosario mine at San Juancito, has been in continuous operation for many years, and has produced millions of dollars' worth of gold and silver. Silver is also found in other sections of the country. Another great source of wealth is mahogany, which is of very fine quality. Honduras has a total of 373 miles of railroads and 280 miles of highways.

There are some 950 primary schools, with 1,377 teachers and about 32,000 pupils enrolled. There are several secondary and normal schools and one university, the Central University of Honduras, with schools of law, medicine, pharmacy, and engineering. A National Academy of Music was founded in Honduras in 1935.

The following are among the most important writers of Honduras: José Trinidad Reyes, founder of the University of Honduras and author of the famous *Pastorelas*; Juan Ramón Molina, a poet, Rómulo E. Durón, a historian; Arturo Mejía Nieto (b. 1900), novelist and critic, Alberto Membreño (b. 1859), historian and philologist; Luis Andrés Zúñiga, a poet, author of *Aguilas conquistadoras*; Froilán Turcios (b. 1877), poet and novelist; and Rafael Heliodoro Valle (b. 1891), poet, historian, and bibliographer of note, who has lived for a number of years in Mexico.

NICARAGUA

Early Politics. From 1821 to 1825 Nicaragua was immersed in civil war, which ended only with the intervention of the government of the Confederation. A constituent assembly met at León on April 10, 1825, electing a chief of the state and other officials. It also adopted a constitution (promulgated the following year) which gave the legislative branch of government predominance over the executive branch. Immediately afterward, the two main factions (the Conservatives, in control of the city of Granada on Lake Nicaragua, and the Liberals, centering around León, more to the northeast, near the Pacific coast) renewed the war for control of the government. Peace was restored three years later by an army sent from Guatemala by the dictator of that country (Morazán). Dionisio Herrera became chief of state in Nicaragua in 1829.

On April 30, 1838, Nicaragua declared her independence from the Confederation under the presidency of José Núñez. A new constitution was adopted. Four years later the country sided in war against Morazán, who had assumed the government of Costa Rica. The war ended with the defeat of Morazán.

In 1841 Pablo Benigno became supreme director of the country. His government was comparatively peaceful. At this time a dispute arose with Great Britain over the sovereignty of the San Juan River. In 1842 Nicaragua participated in the Chinandega convention and became part of the Confederation, which lasted until 1845. In that year new complications with Great Britain ended in the recognition on the part of Nicaragua of the British protectorate in *Mosquitia*.

In 1845 José León Sandoval assumed the government and endeavored to restore peace. The constitution was amended two years later, and a diet of the Central American states was organized between El Salvador, Honduras, and Nicaragua. This union was dissolved in 1853.

In 1849 Norberto Ramírez was elected president. The following year a contract with United States citizens was signed by the Nicaraguan government granting the right of way across the Isthmus via the San Juan River and Lake Nicaragua. A treaty of commerce and navigation was also signed with the United States. Rivalry between the United States and Great Britain for control of the Isthmus resulted in the signing of the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty of 1850, under which neither nation was to seek exclusive control over any part of Central America. This treaty was later superseded by the Hay-Pauncefote Treaty of 1901 giving to the United States the right to build a canal across the Isthmus.

In 1853 Frutos Chamorro became the executive. The following year the Liberals under the leadership of Máximo Jerez and Francisco Castellón took up arms against Chamorro. They secured the aid of one Byron Cole, an American, with whom they had entered into some sort of immigration contract. This contract was then transferred by Cole to William Walker, who led an expedition of American adventurers to Nicaragua. In 1855 President Chamorro died, and José M. Estrada became president.

Walker in Central America. Born in Nashville, Tennessee, in 1824, Walker was a man with some education and broad experience of the world. He had led an expedition to the northwestern part of Mexico with the intention of declaring that region independent, but had been defeated. When, in 1855, he turned up in Nicaragua, he immediately attacked the town of Rivas, but was compelled to withdraw. Later, he returned to battle, defeated the so-called Legitimist forces, and then marched against their stronghold, the city of Granada. Entering into negotiations with the Granada leaders, he set up Patricio Rivas as president, and was himself appointed commander of the army.

Walker then reenforced his army with more American adventurers, and when General Corral, then Secretary of War, plotted against him, he had Corral arrested and shot. Gradually he antagonized all the Central American states. Walker also made the mistake of quarreling with the managers of the Transit Company, the American corporation enjoying the concession of transit across the Isthmus. As a result, he lost their help in the transportation of soldiers and supplies. Hard pressed by the united Central American forces, Walker was defeated and eventually surrendered to the commander of an American man-of-war (1857). Three years later he returned to Honduras, but was wounded, captured, tried, and shot.

For a while the two political factions worked together under the leadership of Generals Máximo Jerez and Tomás Martínez. But after 1860 this cooperation ceased. In 1863 General Martínez gained the upper hand, and during nearly thirty years the government remained under the control of the Granada faction, the presidency being passed from one leader to another in comparative peace. Elections continued to be held, to be sure, but they merely registered the will of the party in power.

Some economic progress was made during this period. Railroads were built, coffee growing was introduced, and commerce prospered. It was also during this period that the religious orders were extinguished.

In 1889 Dr. Roberto Sacasa became president, being the first León leader in many years to be chosen for the position.

His administration was bitterly opposed, and in 1893 José Santos Zelaya, a young Liberal from Managua, became president after a successful revolution. He ruled the country for sixteen years (1894-1909).

The Rule of Zelaya. President Zelaya promoted commerce, agriculture, and transportation. Gradually his methods became dictatorial because of the constant revolts started by the Conservatives. In the latter years of his administration he granted monopolies, issued large amounts of unconvertible paper money, and interfered constantly with the affairs of the neighboring states. On June 20, 1895, the Treaty of Amapala was signed between Nicaragua, El Salvador, and Honduras, providing for the restoration of a Central American Union (*República Mayor de Centro America*). This union was dissolved three years later by revolution and war started in El Salvador.

In 1909 a successful revolution resulted in the setting up of an independent government headed by the Conservative leader, Juan J. Estrada. Zelaya disregarded the rights of foreigners and had difficulties with the United States. Unable to maintain himself in power any longer, he resigned in favor of José Madriz. The latter was overthrown by Estrada, who assumed the provisional presidency. On November 5, 1910, an agreement was signed with the United States whereby Estrada was to be recognized as chief executive of Nicaragua. Early the following year he was legally elected by a constitutional convention.

Recent Politics. On June 6, 1911, a new agreement was signed with the United States whereby the latter pledged help in securing a loan for improvements, to be guaranteed through the control of Nicaraguan customs by an American board. The national constituent assembly then elected General Luis Mena president for four years, but the United States demanded that the people of Nicaragua be afforded the opportunity freely to choose their president. Adolfo Díaz was then elected. On May 11, 1911, he was inaugurated and maintained himself in power with the help of a force of United States marines stationed in the country. During the Díaz administration, the Bryan-Chamorro Treaty between Nicaragua and

the United States was signed (1914). the latter nation was granted the right in perpetuity to construct a canal via the San Juan River and Lake Nicaragua, and it also acquired by a ninety-nine years' lease a naval base on the Gulf of Fonseca, and two coaling stations. The three million dollars paid by the United States for this lease were to be used mainly for the funding of the public debt of Nicaragua.

In the next election (1916) General Emiliano Chamorro was chosen with the support of the United States. The same year, the Bryan-Chamorro Treaty was ratified by the United States Senate and went into effect.

In 1921 Diego Manuel Chamorro was inaugurated president. He died before the end of his term and was replaced by Carlos Solórzano. In 1925 a new revolution broke out under the leadership of former President Emiliano Chamorro, and when on January 17, 1926, President Solórzano resigned, Chamorro took his place as executive. The United States refused recognition to his government. As a consequence, a revolution broke out, and American forces were landed to supervise the new elections. Adolfo Díaz was again elected and inaugurated. Thereupon, Juan Bautista Sacasa, who had been chosen vice-president in 1925, with Chamorro as president—but who had been compelled to leave the country—returned to Nicaragua and established an independent government at Puerto Cabezas.

Thanks to the intervention of the United States, a new election was held under the supervision of American officials (1928), and José Moncada, a Liberal, was chosen president. He was duly inaugurated, but in 1931 guerrilla warfare broke out under the leadership of Augusto Sandino. In 1932 Dr. Sacasa was elected to the presidency. He governed the country until 1936, when General Anastasio Somoza, commander of the national guard, became candidate for the presidency. Aided by the Liberals, who were headed by former President Moncada, Dr. Sacasa attempted to prevent Somoza from being elected; but the latter started a revolution and Dr. Sacasa had to resign (June 6, 1936). A special congress was convened and elected Dr. Carlos Brenes Jarquín. However, a convention at León nominated Somoza, who was elected

and assumed the executive power. The American marines were withdrawn from Nicaragua in 1933. On March 11, 1936, a treaty of commerce with the United States was signed

On March 22, 1939, a new constitution was adopted by a constituent assembly and President Somoza elected for an eight-year term expiring on May 1, 1947

Economic, Social, and Cultural Development. The population of Nicaragua is about 650,000. Here, too, there has been a great deal of racial intermixture. As a result, there is more racial homogeneity and less inequality between classes than in some other regions of Latin America

The chief industries of Nicaragua are agriculture and mining. Corn is the chief product, although none is exported. Beans and rice are also important agricultural products used almost entirely for domestic consumption. Sugar and fruit are produced, especially bananas, which are exported to the United States. Coffee is the great export crop of Nicaragua. In 1935 nearly two million and a half dollars' worth of coffee was exported. Indigo and cabinet-wood are also produced. The mining industry is of importance. In 1934 the amount of gold exported was valued at \$680,000. Silver is also mined. Nicaragua has many navigable rivers and lakes, 171 miles of railroads, and about 900 miles of highways.

Primary education is offered in about 700 schools. There are also 20 secondary schools (6 official and 14 private), 3 normal schools, and several professional faculties (law, medicine, and dentistry).

In Nicaragua was born one of the greatest poets of all Latin America, Rubén Darío (1867-1916), who spent part of his life in Europe and Argentina. Other important writers are: Carmen Díaz, Cesário Salinas, Santiago Argüello, and Manuel Maldonado—all poets; Luis H. Debayle, a distinguished scientist and writer on scientific matters, and Jenaro Lugo, a historian.

EL SALVADOR

Political Affairs. From early days El Salvador has been the hotbed of Liberalism in Central America. In 1829 this nation united with Honduras in a war against the Con-

servatives of Guatemala. In 1835 General Morazán, president of the Confederation, transferred the seat of government to San Salvador, capital of El Salvador, and from then until the extinction of the Union, El Salvador was involved in every war and revolution that took place in Central America.

A conservative government under the protection of President Carrera of Guatemala was set up in 1840, after Morazán was overthrown. Francisco Malespín, commander of the army, was, however, the real ruler of the country. In 1841 a declaration of independence was issued and a constitution was adopted. From 1842 to 1845 the country was united with Nicaragua and Honduras. In 1843 Malespín became president. The following year, Carrera of Guatemala intervened in El Salvador in favor of the Conservative leader, Manuel José Arce. But Eugenio Aguilar, a Liberal, was elected (1846). His administration was progressive. He had trouble with the clergy, however, and had to resign. In 1846 General Malespín was assassinated. Six years later the Conservatives, aided by Carrera, returned to power, and Francisco Dueñas became president. He endeavored to improve the financial condition of the country, promoted public education, and undertook the construction of roads. In 1858 Gerardo Barrios, a Liberal, gained control of the government, first as a substitute for President Santín del Castillo, who was ill, and later as a regularly elected president for a term of six years to start in 1860. But three years later he was overthrown by Carrera, and Dueñas became president again. In 1865, after the death of the Guatemalan dictator, a revolution broke out in El Salvador in favor of Barrios. But it failed, and Barrios was arrested and shot (August 29, 1865). In 1871 Santiago González assumed the executive power and two years later he made himself dictator. He promoted public education, commerce, and means of transportation. In 1875 Andrés Valle was elected president. But war with Guatemala resulted in his overthrow, and Rafael Zaldivar, backed by President Barrios of Guatemala, assumed the executive power in El Salvador.

In 1880 a new constitution was adopted and President Zaldívar was reelected for a four-year term. Four years later he was again reelected. In 1885, when Barrios of Guatemala endeavored once more to unite the states of Central America, El Salvador opposed the idea. War broke out, but Barrios was killed in action, and the Unionists were defeated. In the same year Zaldívar was overthrown and the government occupied by Francisco Menéndez, who ruled until 1890. His administration was strictly honest. General Carlos Ezeta was made army commander to suppress a revolution headed by General Rivas, and the revolutionists were defeated. On June 22, 1890, Erzeta treacherously arrested the executive and members of the cabinet during a ball given in honor of President Menéndez. The latter was killed, and Erzeta assumed the government as dictator. War now broke out with Guatemala, which refused to recognize Erzeta. The Guatemalan troops were defeated by the president's brother, General Antonio Erzeta. Despite revolutions, the Erzeta brothers governed El Salvador until 1894, when a revolution brought to the executive office Rafael A. Gutiérrez. The following year Gutiérrez succeeded in uniting El Salvador with Honduras and Nicaragua again. This union lasted until 1898. In 1899 General Tomás Regalado became president. He made war against Honduras for help given by the authorities of that country to his enemies. Regalado governed well when sober, but drunk, to which he was addicted, made him cruel. In 1903 he was replaced by Pedro José Escalón, who had the backing of Regalado.

In 1906 El Salvador joined Nicaragua in war against Carrera of Guatemala. But the Guatemalan forces proved too strong for the allies. Regalado was killed in action. Peace was restored by mediation of the United States and Mexico. The treaty of peace, which was signed on the U. S. S. *Marblehead* on July 20, 1906, was followed by a Central American Congress at San José, Costa Rica, and later by the Washington Central American Congress of 1907, as already noted.

From 1911 to 1931 El Salvador had five presidents: Manuel Enrique Araujo, who was assassinated in 1913; Carlos Meléndez, Jorge Meléndez, Alfonso Quiñónez Molina, and

Pío Romero Bosque. In the election of 1931 no candidate received a majority, and the congress chose Arturo Araujo to be president. In December, a revolution broke out, and General Maximiliano Hernández Martínez, vice-president, became the executive. Confirmed by Congress (February 7, 1931), he was regularly elected for a four-year term on January 13-16, 1935. At the elections of 1939 he was reelected for a six-year term. Although the United States refused to recognize his government for some time, recognition was extended to President Martínez on January 26, 1934, by the government at Washington. President Martínez has had to crush several revolutions. He has promoted the redistribution of land among the peasants in a manner similar to that adopted in Mexico, and has favored a new labor law which was passed in 1935 with provisions protecting the laboring classes.

Economic, Social, and Cultural Development. El Salvador occupies an important place in the life of Central America, despite the smallness of her territory. The people are similar in racial composition to those of Nicaragua and Honduras. The total population is about one million and a half, which makes El Salvador one of the most thickly inhabited countries of Latin America.

Agriculture and mining are the most important industries. The principal products are coffee, gold and silver, indigo, henequén, sugar, rubber, and hides. El Salvador is one of the few countries where balsam of Peru, a valuable drug, is produced and exported. Coffee is the chief agricultural product. Exports of coffee amount to about 80 per cent of the total export of the country.

There are about 100 miles of railroads, many navigable rivers, and a well developed system of modern highways. When complete, this system will comprise nearly 1,600 miles of good roads.

The government has lately carried on an intensive program of public education. There are over 1,200 schools, with 1,700 teachers and an enrolment of about 53,000 pupils. The government maintains several secondary, normal, and professional schools.

Among the leading writers born in El Salvador are Juan Ramón Uriarte and Alberto Masferrer, essayists; Claudia Lars, poetess; Juan José Bernal, noted for his mysticism, Juan José Cañas (1826-1900), a poet, Isaac Ruiz Araujo (1850-1881), a poet of nature, love, and patriotism; Francisco E Galindo (1850-1900), a poet and dramatist, and Joaquín Aragón (b 1863), a poet of great popularity because of his interpretation of national legends

COSTA RICA

Political Life. After the extinction of the Confederation, Juan Rafael Mora became President of Costa Rica. He proved to be a good administrator and established an efficient administrative machinery, which also promoted the economic development of the country. Independence was declared on November 14, 1838. The same year Braulio Carrillo assumed the presidency. He became very unpopular on account of his dictatorial tendencies. In 1842 he was overthrown by Francisco Morazán, former president of the Confederation. But Morazán's government was short-lived. Opposed by the other Central American states, he was defeated, arrested, and shot. There followed a period of anarchy which lasted until 1849, when Juan Rafael Mora once more assumed the government. He was reelected in 1853 and took part in the war against Walker in Nicaragua.

In 1859 Mora was in turn overthrown by a Conservative revolution. Two military leaders, Generals Blanco and Salazar, set up José María Montealegre as president. From 1863 to 1882 there were four presidents—Jesús Jiménez, José María Castro, Jiménez again, and Tomás Guardia.

The next president was Próspero Fernández, and upon his death, Bernardo Soto ruled the country. He proved to be an enlightened president, fostered education, which was made compulsory, and promoted the general economic development of the country. He was opposed by the Church because of his strong action against several priests. As a result, in 1889, José Joaquín Rodríguez, backed by the Conservatives, became chief executive.

From 1894 to 1932 there were the following presidents: Rafael Iglésias y Castro, who fostered agriculture and com-

merce; Ascensión Esquivel, whose administration was exceptionally peaceful and prosperous; Cleto González Víquez; Ricardo Jiménez Oreamundo; Alfredo González Flores, whose reforms aroused the antagonism of the Conservatives and led to his overthrow in 1917; Frederico Tinoco, who was not recognized by the United States; Federico Aguilar Barquero; Julio Acosta García; Ricardo Jiménez Oreamundo again; and in 1928 Cleto González Víquez once more. In 1932 no candidate had a majority vote, and before a new election took place a revolution broke out. The United States intervened, and Jiménez Oreamundo, one of the candidates, was declared elected by the congress of Costa Rica. On February 9, 1936, León Cortés Castro, vice-president, became the chief executive, to fulfill the presidential term of Dr. Jiménez Oreamundo. At the elections of February 11, 1940, Dr. Rafael Calderón Guardia, a practicing physician, was selected as president. A project backed by the majority of the national congress was under discussion to extend the presidential term from four to six years.

During 1940 a loan of \$4,500,000 was granted to Costa Rica by the U. S. Export-Import Bank to complete the section of the Pan American Highway within that country.

Economic, Social, and Cultural Development. In many respects Costa Rica is quite different from the other Central American countries; her population is distinctly white, the soil is widely cultivated, and most of the population live in small plantations in relative prosperity. On the Atlantic coast there are many banana plantations, where Negroes and a few Indians are employed. Most of the white population are descendants from Gallegos, one of the most law-abiding and hard-working races of the Iberian peninsula. In contrast with the other Central American nations, this republic has always enjoyed relative peace. The total population is estimated at nearly 600,000.

Agriculture is the basic industry of Costa Rica, and coffee, bananas, and cocoa are the main products of export. It is estimated that more than a million acres in the country are under cultivation. There are about six million acres of grasslands.

There are some 37,000,000 coffee trees in the republic. The coffee produced is of an exceptionally high quality; the production was 24,000 tons in 1935. Banana production has decreased lately from 10,000,000 bunches in 1915 to about 3,000,000 in 1935, in part because of disease that has destroyed many plantations. Cocoa is produced on approximately 74,000 acres. The country also produces sugar cane, corn, beans, potatoes, and rice, mostly for national consumption.

Besides several navigable rivers, the republic has about 450 miles of railroads, and a good system of highways (about 1,800 miles) connecting the principal cities with each other and with the neighboring countries.

The republic has always prided itself on its highly developed system of public education. Elementary education is free and compulsory. There are some 600 elementary schools, with an enrolment of nearly 55,000 pupils. The government also maintains secondary schools, called *liceos*, and professional schools. Illiteracy was estimated in 1927 at 23.6 per cent, the lowest percentage in all Latin America.

The following are among the leading writers of Costa Rica: Juan Diego Braun Bonilla (1759-1855), a poet; Aquileo Echeverría (1866-1909), a very popular poet, author of *Concherías*, a book of poems; Manuel González Zeledón (1864-1936), a prose writer very well acquainted with the folklore of his country; Manuel Jesús Jiménez (b. 1854), a historian; Joaquín García Monge (b. 1881), a great writer of short stories based on national folklore; Ricardo Jiménez (b. 1903), a poet; and Rafael Cardona, Raúl Salazar, and Carlos Luis Sáenz, all modern poets.

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CHAPTER SEVENTEEN

THE STATES OF NORTHERN SOUTH AMERICA

At the outset of independence, the northern Spanish provinces of South America united, under the compelling genius of Bolívar, to form a single state including the territory of the Captaincy General of Venezuela, of the New Kingdom of Granada, and of the Presidency of Quito in the old Viceroyalty of New Granada. However, this union did not last long partly because of regional jealousies. By 1830, even before the death of the Liberator, they had already separated into three independent states—Venezuela, New Granada, and Ecuador. Panama seceded from Colombia in 1903.

GREAT COLOMBIA

The Congress of Angostura created, on December 17, 1819, the Republic of Colombia, comprising Venezuela and New Granada, which was divided into three departments—Venezuela, Quito, and Cundinamarca. Another general congress met at Cúcuta in 1821 and adopted a constitution for the new state, which was then named *Gran Colombia* (Great Colombia). This constitution provided for the usual division of powers in a manner similar to that provided by the United States constitution. The congress then elected Simón Bolívar president of the republic, with Francisco de Paula Santander vice-president. Quito adhered to the new state in July of the following year.

Santander's Government. From 1822 to 1827, while Bolívar was away continuing the war against the Spanish

forces in Ecuador and Peru, Santander acted as president. He was tactless and inclined to rule despotically. At once there were signs of discontent and even rebellion. In May, 1826, General José Antonio Páez, one of the most popular heroes of the independence wars in Venezuela and commandant general of two Venezuelan departments, rebelled against the central government. He had been accused in the congress of having forced men to enlist in the army, and the congress had suspended him from his command.

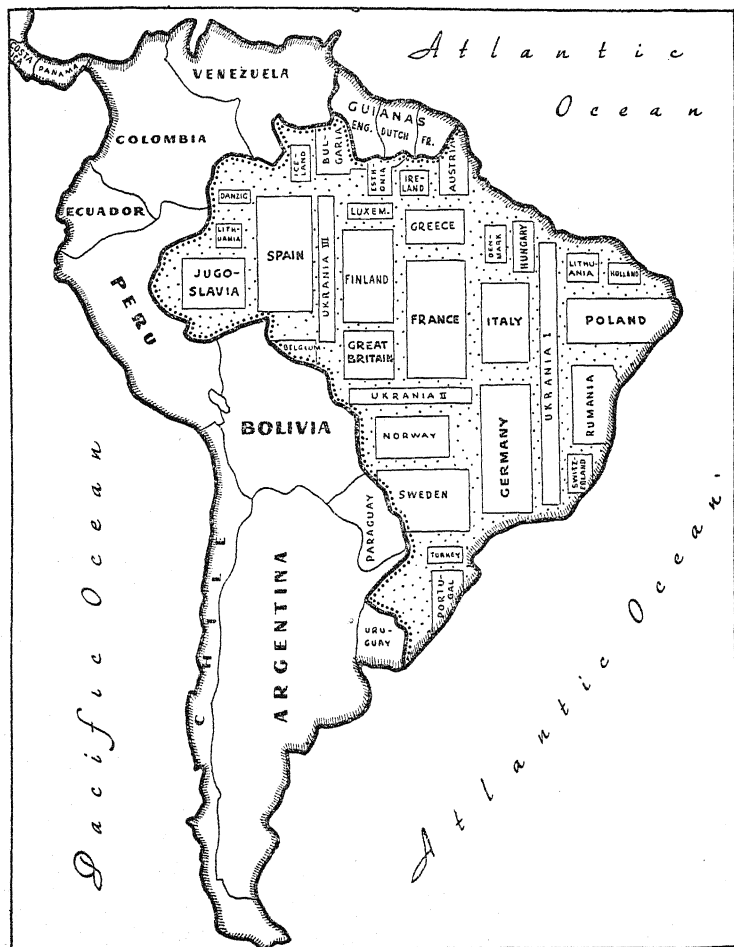


Fig. 34. Comparison of European state areas with South American states.

Bolívar, upon hearing of Páez's insurrection, returned to Venezuela and on January 21, 1827, at Puerto Cabello, issued decrees of amnesty and restored Páez to his command. This diplomatic move touched the heart of Páez, who at once acknowledged Bolívar's authority.

But there were other reasons for dissatisfaction, particularly among the conservative classes. Laws adopted by the congress providing for the closing of certain convents and giving the government control over the Church appointments were particularly opposed by the clergy.

In 1827 Bolívar returned to Bogotá and assumed the office of chief executive.

Disruption of Great Colombia. Bolívar's return did not restore public peace. An influential group favored the adoption of a monarchic form of government and urged Bolívar to crown himself king. Though favoring a stronger central government for the republic, Bolívar repeatedly denied having royal ambitions.

In April, 1828, a convention assembled at Ocaña to discuss the amendment of the constitution. A bitter controversy began at once over federalism and unitarian government, and the convention adjourned without accomplishing anything. Dissatisfaction increased throughout the republic. On September 25, 1828, an unsuccessful attempt was made to assassinate Bolívar, who had assumed dictatorial powers under the constitution to suppress the disorder. A number of conspirators were executed. Santander, suspected of having instigated the plot, was exiled.

Finally, in 1829, General José María Córdoba rebelled against the government in Antioquía. A revolutionary assembly met at Caracas and declared Venezuela separated from Great Colombia. A congress met at Bogotá the following year and tried to prevent the disruption of the republic by adopting a new constitution which granted greater autonomy to the provinces. But it was all in vain. This same congress elected Joaquín Mosquera president of the republic, with Domingo Caicedo vice-president. On March 1, 1830, Bolívar resigned because of ill health. Intending to go to Europe, he

stopped at Cartagena, where he received the news that General José Antonio de Sucre, his best friend and most capable lieutenant, had been assassinated. Broken-hearted, disillusioned, mortally ill, Bolívar retired to Santa Marta on the northern coast of Colombia, where he died on December 17. "He who dedicates his services to a revolution ploughs the sea," wrote the Liberator to a friend some time before his death. Even before he died, Great Colombia, the creation of his genius, had ceased to exist. In August, Venezuela refused to adopt the 1830 constitution drafted at Bogotá and adopted one of its own the following September. In August, 1830, a movement for secession also took place in Quito under the leadership of Juan José Flores.

In November of the following year the central provinces of Great Colombia decided to form an independent state under the name of New Granada. After that, the three component provinces of Bolívar's Great Colombia became and have remained independent states, known as Colombia, Venezuela, and Ecuador. As such they shall be studied in the sections that follow.

COLOMBIA

On account of its proximity to North America, its strategic location—since it borders both the Caribbean Sea and the Pacific Ocean—and its valuable natural resources, Colombia is one of the most important Latin American countries from the standpoint of the United States.

Its history, as an independent nation, may be divided into four periods: During the first one (1832-1861), Liberalism and Conservatism struggled for the control of the government. The measures taken by a government belonging to one of the two parties were, in general, annulled and reversed by a succeeding government belonging to the other party. This struggle was complicated by a bitter religious question and regional jealousies, resulting at the end of the period in the expulsion of the Jesuit Society and other measures against the Church, as well as in the loss of authority by the central government. During the following period (1861-1880), the Liberals predominated and carried into effect a broad program

of reforms, including the reorganization of the nation as a confederation, and the suppression of all religious orders, and other measures against the Church and the conservative classes. From 1880 to 1930 the Conservatives were in power. Under the leadership of Rafael Núñez a new party was formed by elements from both the Conservatives and the Liberals, and a new constitution (1886) was adopted providing for an extremely centralized form of government and the reestablishment of the Catholic Church to its former power and prestige. Finally, from 1930 to the present time, the Liberals again have been in power. The constitution was amended in 1936 to allow, among other things, for the separation of the Church from the State.

Liberalism Versus Conservatism (1832-1861)

On February 29, 1832, a constitution was adopted for New Granada similar to that of 1830 adopted for Great Colombia. The convention elected General Francisco de Paula Santander first president of the republic. Upon returning from exile, he was inaugurated on October 7. Santander's administration was a progressive one, public education being particularly fostered by him. At this time a treaty of friendship, commerce, and navigation was signed with Venezuela. Santander was much criticized by his enemies for assuming, in the name of New Granada, half of the debt of the extinguished Great Colombia. Antagonism towards him also resulted from his harsh treatment of his opponents.

In 1837 José Ignacio Márquez, a civilian and eminent jurist, was elected to the presidency. The new executive attempted to reduce the influence of the army in politics, promoted public education, and followed in general an enlightened policy. In 1837 a penal code was adopted. The country prospered in peace for a while. But in 1839, after certain monasteries had been suppressed by the congress, a rebellion led by a priest resulted in general disorder throughout the nation. Before the uprising could be put down, Pedro Alcántara Herrán, commander of the government forces, was elected president (1841). Two years later the constitution was amended to give the executive greater power. Herrán

continued the liberal reforms of his predecessors. In an attempt to pacify the Church, in 1844 the Jesuit Society was allowed to return to the country and devote itself to educational pursuits.

The next president was Tomás Cipriano de Mosquera, a man of culture and aristocratic family. His administration was very progressive. He initiated negotiations for the construction of a railroad across the Isthmus of Panama. In 1846 he negotiated a treaty with the United States granting American citizens the right of transit across the Isthmus, receiving in return the guarantee of neutrality of Panama and the recognition of sovereignty over that region. A railroad across Panama was built by an American concern and inaugurated in 1855. The monetary system was improved. The slave trade was prohibited, and public education continued to be promoted.

During the latter part of President Mosquera's term, the Liberals became stronger as a result of the European revolutions of 1848. In the election of 1849, General José Hilario López, the Liberal candidate, was elected. With the victory of the Liberals, a period of democratic reforms and of strong anti-clericalism began. The Jesuits were again expelled (1850). Slavery was finally abolished with compensation (May 21, 1851). The same year the rivers of New Granada were opened to the navigation of foreign vessels.

During General José María Obando's administration (1853-1854), laws were passed providing for the separation of Church and State, and adopting other measures against the Church. The same year a new constitution was drafted guaranteeing complete freedom of thought, liberty of the press, trial by jury, and other individual rights. It also granted manhood suffrage and provided for a larger measure of autonomy on the part of the provinces.

These reforms led to a revolution promoted by the conservative classes. President Obando was arrested, and General José María Melo assumed the executive power. But he did not remain in office for a long time. At the end of 1854 Manuel María Mallarino assumed the presidency for the two

remaining years of Obando's term. In 1855 the constitution was amended to permit the various provinces to become federal states.

In 1857 Mariano Ospina was inaugurated president. The following year a new constitution was adopted providing for a confederate government under the name of Granadine Confederation. This constitution gave to the states all the powers not specifically delegated to the confederate government. As a result, General Mosquera, then Governor of Cauca and leader of the Liberal party, declared in 1860 that his state had decided to assume full sovereign powers. His example was quickly followed by others, and the central government soon lost all of its authority.

War followed, during which Mosquera captured the capital and assumed the title of provisional president (July, 1861).

Predominance of the Liberals (1861-1880)

The Age of Mosquera. From 1861 to 1867 the country, at first under the name of "United States of New Granada," and later as "United States of Colombia," was ruled by Mosquera, who upon assuming the government issued a number of decrees against the Church. The Jesuit Society was again expelled, and its property was confiscated. All monasteries were suppressed, and no priest was permitted to perform his religious duties without permission of the civil authorities.

In 1863 a new constitution was adopted decreasing the autonomy of the states. Under this new instrument of government the president was elected for two years by the states. In 1867 Mosquera was accused of malfeasance in office, was arrested, and exiled. The Liberals, however, remained in power for almost two more decades.

In 1878, during the government of Aquileo Parra, a concession was granted to a French company to dig a canal across the Isthmus of Panama.

Predominance of the Conservatives (1880-1930)

Rafael Núñez. In 1880 Rafael Núñez became president. A man of advanced political ideas, he had become convinced

that the country needed a more centralized form of government. He was also a strong partisan of the Catholic Church. After the interval of one term, Núñez was reelected in 1884, and helped to form a new political party known as the Nationalist party, made up of Conservatives and Independents who had constituted the more advanced wing of the Liberal party. In 1885 a national council met at Bogotá and adopted an act suggesting that the country be called the "Republic of Colombia." Assuming the powers of a constituent convention, the council then proceeded to draft a constitution, which was promulgated the following year (1886). Under this constitution a centralized republic was established; the states were abolished, and to replace them administrative departments were created. The Roman Catholic Church was declared to be the official church. The president was to be elected for six years directly by the people. This constitution remained in effect until 1936.

The Constitution of 1886 was a great victory for the Clericals and Conservatives. Núñez, who became president in 1885, under it, ruled the country until his death in 1894. During his administration a concordat with the papacy was signed, restoring to the Church in Colombia most of the powers and privileges it had possessed in colonial days and providing for the payment of confiscated ecclesiastical property.

The Conservatives continued to rule the country until 1930. There were many attempts to overthrow them. In 1899 José Manuel Marroquín, vice-president, broke with President Sanclemente and seized the presidential power. Civil war followed until 1903. This is considered one of the most unhappy periods in the history of Colombia.

The Loss of Panama. The operations to dig a canal across Panama started in 1878. But the French company having the concession stopped the work in 1889 for lack of funds. In 1903, after the Spanish-American War had proved the necessity of a canal across the Isthmus, the United States government signed with Colombia a treaty (Hay-Herrán) granting to the former a lease for ninety-nine years of a strip of land across the Isthmus in return for the payment of ten million dollars at once and an annual rent of a quarter of a

million dollars. The treaty was ratified by the United States Senate but rejected by the Colombian Senate. The inhabitants of Panama were indignant, and as a result on November 3, 1903, an insurrection broke out in Panama City and the independence of that province was declared. The United States intervened under the Treaty of 1846, preventing Colombian soldiers from using the railroad to cross from Colón to Panama City. A few days later President Roosevelt acknowledged the independence of Panama, despite the protests of Colombia.

In 1909 an attempt was made to settle the Panama question. But strong opposition to the agreement negotiated (Cortés-Root), which provided for the payment by Panama to Colombia of the annual rent received from the United States and recognition of Panama's independence by Colombia, resulted in the withdrawal of the treaty by President Reyes, of Colombia. Again, in 1914, a treaty was signed (Thomson-Urrutia) in which the United States expressed regret for the differences that had arisen between the two nations and agreed to pay to Colombia twenty-five million dollars for the loss of Panama. This treaty, ratified by Colombia, was rejected by the United States Senate. Eventually, in 1921, the Thomson-Urrutia Treaty was ratified by the United States Senate without the expression of regret, and this was accepted by the Colombian congress. Since then relations between Colombia and the United States have been friendly.

In 1922 General Pedro Nel Ospina was elected President of Colombia, and before his inauguration he paid a visit to the United States. The following year a financial mission headed by Professor Edwin W. Kemmerer of Princeton University, visited Colombia at the request of President Nel Ospina and recommended certain changes in the financial and economic structure of the country. As a result, a national bank was established and the currency reformed.

The Liberals Again in Power (1930 to the Present)

In 1930, owing to a split in the Conservative party, the Liberals won the presidential election for the first time in

nearly half a century. Their candidate, Enrique Olaya Herrera, at the time Colombian Minister in the United States, was elected. During Dr. Herrera's administration national expenditures were reduced and a program of public works was carried into effect to help those without work. The government also tried to help the coffee planters and the national industry then suffering from severe business depression.

In September, 1932, a dispute arose with Peru on account of the seizure by a group of Peruvian citizens of a small settlement called Leticia, which lay in territory ceded by Peru to Colombia under the Treaty of 1927, settling the boundary dispute between the two countries. This new dispute was peacefully settled by the two countries on May 24, 1934.

In February, 1934, Alfonso López, another Liberal, was elected president. Two years later the constitution was amended to permit the levying of taxes on income and capital. The Church was disestablished, and its control of public education was ended. Despite the bitter antagonism of the Conservatives, in the election of 1937 another Liberal, Eduardo Santos, was elected. In preparation for the elections of 1942 a strong popular movement has been launched favorable to the election of former President Alfonso López. Meanwhile President Santos has adopted an ambitious plan for the economic recovery of the country.

Economics, Social and Cultural Development

Economic Development. Coffee is the leading agricultural product, the country having more than 500 million coffee trees in 1935. Coffee exports in the same year totaled 3,785,675 bags of 132.2 pounds. Other important agricultural products are sugar, rubber, tagua, rice, cotton, cacao, and fruit. Cattle raising has long been one of the principal industries, particularly in the *llanos* (plains) region of the east. Mineral resources are important. Gold, copper ores, platinum, coal, petroleum, and iron are present abundantly. Petroleum production totaled 17,600,000 barrels in 1935. Colombia also exports a great deal of mahogany, cedar, and dyewood. Salt mines exist in Zipaquirá. Manufacturing has increased from 50 to 80 per cent within recent years. At present it is estimated that factories support at least 1,500,000 people in the

republic. Colombia is rich in emeralds. The Muzo mines, seventy-five miles from Bogotá, owned by the government, and the Chivor mines, near Somondoco, worked long before the Conquest and at the present time operated by an American company, are among the principal ones in Colombia. The Chivor mines alone produced from 1925 to 1933 a total of 245,339 carats of emeralds.

The country has many waterways, nearly 1,400 miles of railroads, and an extensive system of modern highways. When complete the latter will have more than 6,000 miles of modern motor roads. The airways establish rapid communication with various sections of the country and foreign countries. The first South American airline was established in Colombia in 1920 by the Sociedad Colombiana Alemana de Transportes Areos, known as Scadta.

Social Development. In 1935 the population of Colombia was estimated at nearly eight and a half million people. More than half of these are *Mestizos*. Only less than ten per cent are of pure white blood. This latter element forms the governing class, who live, for the most part, in the cooler highlands. There is, however, a growing consciousness of the feeling that the whites, the Indians, and the Negroes—which, together with the mulattoes and Zambos form about thirty-five per cent of the total Colombian population—are evolving in the torrid zone around the Caribbean a new type of race that eventually, will enable it to produce a tropical civilization.

Public Education. Primary education is offered in some 8,000 public schools, with an enrolment of more than half a million children, and about 10,000 teachers. There are also some 200 elementary schools maintained by the Catholic Church, with an enrolment of some 12,000 children. There are 438 secondary schools, mostly private, and one university, the National University of Bogotá, founded in 1572.

Literary and Artistic Development. Colombia has produced many writers of importance. Among them the following may be mentioned here: José Eusebio Caro (1817-1853), a poet, journalist, and politician; José Joaquín Ortiz (1814-1892), a poet of the romantic school; Julio Arboleda (1817-1862), a journalist and epic poet; Gregorio Gutiérrez González

(1826-1872), a romantic poet, José María Vergara y Vergara (1831-1872), a poet and historian of literature; Manuel María Madieto (1817-1900), a philosophical poet and defender of Christianity; Rafael Núñez (1825-1894), a statesman and poet, Diego Fallón (1893-1905), a poet of nature; Rafael Pombo (1833-1912), a writer of poetry for children as well as adults; Silvera Espina de Rendón (d. 1886), a poetess of religious inspiration; Mercedes Álvarez de Flórez (b. 1859), a poetess of emotional love, José Asunción Silva (1865-1896), a modernistic poet of great merit; Soledad Acosta de Samper (1831-1913), a journalist, historian, and biographer, José Manuel Restrepo (1782-1863), the leading historian of Colombia; Joaquín Acosta, the outstanding historian of the Spanish conquest of New Granada; Engenio Díaz (1804-1861), an idealistic novelist; Jorge Isaacs (1837-1895), author of *María*, a novelist and poet and one of the best known Latin American writers of all times; José Joaquín Borda (1835-1878), vigorous promoter of literary periodicals; Rufino José Cuervo (1844-1911), a noted grammarian; José María Samper (1828-1898), a dramatist and prolific literary writer, José Eustasio Rivera, a vigorous novelist, considered one of the outstanding modern writers of all Latin America, author of *La Vorágine*; Víctor M. Londoño (b. 1876), a poet of great inspiration; and Lauriano García Ortiz, a historian and literary writer.

PANAMA

As Part of Colombia. Although Panama did not become a sovereign state until 1903, it had always enjoyed relative autonomy even in colonial days. On November 28, 1821, a *cabildo abierto* declared that territory independent from Spain and annexed to the Republic of Colombia. In 1830 there was an uprising which aimed at making Panama independent from Colombia; but it did not last long. After the dissolution of Great Colombia, Panama joined New Granada (1832). In 1840, however, a revolution led by Tomás Herrera declared this union at an end. Until December 31, 1841, an independent government ruled the country, which was named the Free State of the Isthmus.

In 1855 a railroad across the Isthmus was inaugurated. It was built by United States engineers under a concession from the government of New Granada. The same year Panama became an autonomous state of the Granadine Confederation, and later (1862) of the United States of Colombia. It was governed by officials elected by a state assembly under a state constitution until 1886, when a centralist constitution was adopted for Colombia. From then until 1903 there were various insurrections against the central government.

After 1878, when a French company received the concession to build a canal across the Isthmus, the desire of the people of Panama for political autonomy increased. And when, in 1903, the Colombian congress rejected the Hay-Herrán Treaty, antagonism against Colombia led to a new outbreak. On November 3, the people of Panama declared themselves independent; and a provisional junta of government was established, composed of José Agustín Araujo, Federico Boyd, and Tomás Arias. Three days later the independence of the new republic was recognized by the United States, and, on the eighteenth day of November, the Hay-Bunau Varilla Treaty was signed at Washington.

Relations with the United States. By the end of February, 1904, the ratifications of the Hay-Bunau Varilla Treaty were exchanged, and the treaty went into effect. This agreement gave the United States the right to build a canal across the Isthmus on a strip of land leased in perpetuity, in return for the payment of ten million dollars at once and a quarter of a million dollars as annual rental. Under one of its provisions the United States guaranteed Panama's independence and assumed the maintenance of public order in the country. A similar provision was included in the constitution of Panama (Article 136). This has led to repeated intervention in that country on the part of the United States.

In 1905 President Amador Guerrero requested the United States government to supervise the elections in Panama. This the American government refused to do. Three years later, however, troops were landed and American officials undertook to supervise the elections of that year at the request of the Panama government. Troops were landed there again in 1912

and 1918, on account of political disturbances, despite the suspicion and antagonism that such action evoked throughout Latin America. United States forces have intervened in Panama at various other times to restore and maintain public order.

The Treaty of 1903 has been a source of dissatisfaction for the people of Panama. Controversies have arisen between the two governments on such matters as the right of the United States to open the Canal Zone to commerce and to collect custom duties, to adopt sanitary measures, and on other problems. Many of these questions have been satisfactorily settled now. In 1926 an agreement was signed doing away with the competition of commercial establishments in the Canal Zone. Other provisions of the treaty granted the United States the right to use aviation and radio communications in Panama and to control jointly with Panama all military operations in the country in case of war. This treaty was bitterly opposed in Panama and was refused ratification by the congress of that country. In 1933 President Harmodio Arias visited the United States to discuss the various pending questions. The following year a new dispute arose in regard to the payment of the annual Canal rent. After the devaluation of the American dollar, the government of the United States decided to pay the annual rent in paper dollars instead of in gold, as provided by the treaty. Panama refused to accept this payment. Two years later (1936) an agreement was signed at Washington providing for the payment, by the United States, of the Canal rent in *balboas* (Panama currency) instead of in dollars, at the rate equivalent to the gold dollar of that date; the United States also gave up the right to intervene in Panama and to guarantee that country's independence. This treaty, negotiated by the very able Panamanian diplomat, Dr. Ricardo J. Alfaro, has not yet been ratified by the United States Senate, because the provision for the safeguarding of the Canal is considered inadequate.

Politics Since Independence. The first president was Manuel Amador Guerrero, who was inaugurated on February 20, 1904. On February 13, a constitution was adopted providing for a highly centralized form of government.

In 1908 José Domingo de Obaldía, a Conservative, was elected president. With his death on March 1, 1910, Carlos Antonio Mendoza became temporary executive, followed in September by Pablo Arosemena, who was chosen by the assembly. On October 1, 1912, Belisario Porras became president, to be succeeded four years later by Ramón M. Valdés. In 1919 Porras again assumed the presidency, but the next year Ernesto Lefevre was elected to the executive office. The next president was Rodolfo Chiari, who was inaugurated on October 1, 1924. Early in March of the following year, a rebellion of the San Blas Indians was successfully crushed. On October 1, 1928, the Liberal, Florencio Harmodio Arosemena, was inaugurated. Early in 1931 he was overthrown by a sudden uprising in Panama City on the part of the dissatisfied *Acción Comunal* group backed by Independents and Conservatives and led by Harmodio Arias on a platform opposed to graft and tyranny. Dr. Ricardo J. Alfaro was chosen chief executive until the end of the term, and on October 1, 1932, Harmodio Arias became the president of the republic. In the election of June, 1936, Juan Demostenes Arosemena was elected chief executive.

President Arosemena, who is said to have had pro-Fascist sympathies, died in December, 1939, and was succeeded by Dr. Augusto S. Boyd, the vice-president. The elections of June, 1940, were hotly contested by the candidate of the National Revolutionary Party, Arnulfo Arias, and Dr. Ricardo J. Alfaro, representing a coalition of Liberals and Socialists, who desired to break the political machinery controlled by the Conservatives. Dr. Alfaro, who had been living in Washington, D. C., went home and was received enthusiastically by the people of Panama. -

Before and during the elections there were many disorders provoked, it is said, by the backers of Arnulfo Arias. Despite the apparent popular support for Dr. Alfaro, the Conservative candidate was declared elected.

Since his inauguration, President Arias has shown decided antagonism towards the United States, declaring publicly on October 2, 1940, that unless properly treated by the

American government Panama would seek the protection of other powerful countries

On December 15, 1940, a new constitution was adopted denying citizenship to non-Spanish speaking Negroes, the yellow races, and races from India, Asia Minor, and Africa. A clause was included in the new constitution permitting the expropriation of property owned by foreigners or in which foreign capital participates, provided that compensation is made. The president's term was extended from four to six years.

Economic, Social, and Cultural Development. The total population of the country is estimated at approximately 500,000. More than one-half of the people are of mixed blood.

The soil of the republic is of marked fertility, and climatic conditions favor the growth of all tropical products. Coffee, cacao, coconuts, rubber, fruit, and sugar cane are the most important agricultural products. The cultivation of bananas is the principal industry, nearly six million bunches being exported yearly, most of them to the United States. The forests contain an abundance of cabinet, dye, and building woods. Stock raising is being encouraged. It is estimated that there are some 50,000 head of cattle in the country. Mining is carried on in various localities. Gold, manganese, silver, aluminum, lead, copper, coal, and asbestos have been located in various regions. Coral and sponges are found off both coasts. Pearls are obtained from Pearl Islands in Panama Bay. Coconuts also form an important item in the total exports of Panama, several hundred thousand dollars worth being exported to the United States every year.

The country has 257 miles of railroads and a fast-developing system of highways. The longest auto road in the country, 300 miles, forms a part of the Pan American Highway. Panama in recent years has become the junction point for aerial traffic. Inter-American air liners use Panama bases. Local aviation companies also exist, which transport travelers along the Canal and to other parts of Panama.

There were about 600 public primary schools in Panama in 1932, with an enrolment of more than 59,000 students.

Secondary education is provided for in *liceos*. There are several professional schools and, since 1935, a National University, established in the capital

The following are among the most important writers of Panama; Tomás del Espíritu Santo (1834-1862), a classical poet; Mariano Arosemena (1794-1868), a historian; José Dolores Urriola (El Mulato) (1834-1883), a popular poet; Federico Escobar (1861-1912), a poet of great merit; and Ricardo Miró (b. 1883), a poet.

VENEZUELA

The history of Venezuela is a succession of dictatorships of more or less benevolent character.

When Bolívar left Great Colombia to continue the wars of independence in Peru, he placed one of his generals, José Antonio Páez, at the head of the government of two provinces in Venezuela. Páez was a typical *llanero*, born and raised on those vast plains of southern Venezuela where cattle raising is the chief occupation of the inhabitants. He was bold, was a lover of freedom, and was sincerely devoted to his country. The Venezuelans were not pleased with the choice of Bogotá as the capital of Great Colombia. When Santander, ruling in the absence of Bolívar, showed despotic tendencies, they decided to secede under the leadership of Páez.

Bolívar's sudden return to Venezuela in 1827 and his diplomatic attitude toward Páez, prevented a breach for the time being. But the secessionist movement continued to grow. At last, on November 19, 1829, an assembly gathered at Caracas and declared Venezuela no longer a member of Great Colombia. The following May, at Valencia, independence was reaffirmed by a constituent assembly which drafted a constitution for the new state. This constitution was a compromise between the federalist and centralist tendencies. The executive was elected for four years by an electoral college; the legislature was bicameral; and the country was divided into several autonomous provinces, but their governors were appointed by the national executive. Under this constitution General Páez was elected the first president.

The Age of Páez. Although not all sections of Venezuela accepted the authority of the new government, peace was quickly restored by Páez. A revolution that took place in Caracas, aiming at the extermination of the landed aristocracy, was severely suppressed

Early in 1835 Páez was succeeded by José María Vargas, a scholarly man who had been rector of the University of Caracas. Dissatisfied with the election of a non-military man, the army rebelled, and President Vargas was compelled to resign. Santiago Mariño then became the chief executive, but not for long. Páez took up arms against him (1836) and forced the legislature to recall Vargas. The legislation suppressing certain monasteries, adopted by the legislature of Great Colombia some time before, was declared in force in Venezuela.

In 1836 Páez was again elected to the presidency. He restored order and ruled until 1843. His administration was progressive—roads were built, the press enjoyed reasonable freedom, immigration was promoted, the army was decreased, and commerce and agriculture were encouraged.

Páez was followed by Carlos Soublette, who continued the liberal reforms of his predecessor. Education was promoted, the national debt was reduced, and a commercial code was adopted. A revolt against the upper classes (called *Godos*) was suppressed. As a result of this uprising, the election of 1846 was won by General José Tadeo Monagas, a Conservative.

The Monagas Brothers. Despite his early Conservative convictions, Monagas showed Liberal tendencies after he assumed the presidency. He quarreled with his own party and dissolved the assembly. As a result, General Páez arose in revolt against the government; but he was defeated and exiled (1850). The following year the president's brother, José Gregorio Monagas, was made chief executive. Until 1858 the two Monagas brothers controlled the government.

In 1854 slavery was abolished with compensation to the owners. In 1857 the constitution was amended in order to allow the election of the president for a term of six years, his reelection, and the reorganization of the whole govern-

ment machinery on a highly centralized basis. This change in the form of government led to a new revolution and the overthrow of the Monagas oligarchy in 1858. A constituent convention was called, and a new constitution was adopted. This new instrument of government granted more autonomy to the municipalities and provided for manhood suffrage. The Liberals were not entirely satisfied with these reforms and arose in arms once more. Peace was restored with the return of Páez from exile. Abolishing the Constitution of 1858, he was made dictator and ruled until 1864, when he was once more exiled. War between the centralist and federalist factions continued. Eventually, a new constitution was adopted (1864) which created a confederate government under the name of United States of Venezuela. Juan Crisóstomo Falcón was elected president for four years, and at the end of his term, José Tadeo Monagas, the leader of the Conservatives, again assumed the presidency.

The Rule of Guzmán Blanco. Meanwhile, a new leader had appeared. This man, Antonio Guzmán Blanco, was a brilliant, courageous, and energetic Liberal with considerable political, diplomatic, and military experience. Taking up arms against President Monagas, he overthrew the government, and by 1872 had restored order, as dictator. In 1873 he was elected constitutional president. From then until 1888 he ruled Venezuela directly or through his followers. Although despotic, particularly during his latter years, he was wise as an administrator and maintained peace. Many progressive measures were taken by him: public education was made free and compulsory; the national debt was reduced and public credit restored; transportation means were improved; import duties were reduced, export taxes were entirely abolished with a view to fostering commerce; and civil marriage was made compulsory.

Guzmán Blanco made several trips abroad while president, leaving some subordinate in charge of the government. While he was in Europe in 1888 a revolt broke out in Caracas, and his substitute was overthrown. This brought to the presidency Juan Pablo Rojas Paul, who, two years later, was in turn replaced by Raimundo Andueza Palacio.

The Rule of Crespo and Castro. In 1892 Joaquín Crespo became chief executive. He had been one of Guzmán Blanco's alternates and was an able man. On July 5, 1893, a new constitution was adopted, providing for elections by secret ballot, and granting individual guarantees to foreigners and nationals. Under this constitution Crespo was elected. During his administration a dangerous dispute arose with Great Britain over the boundary in the Guiana region. The two countries severed diplomatic relations with each other in 1887, but eventually decided to submit the question to arbitration, thanks to the intervention of the United States. Although the arbitral award gave Britain most of the disputed territory, the question was settled definitely.

In 1898 José Ignacio Andrade became the chief executive. The following year he was overthrown by Cipriano Castro, who ruled the country as dictator during nine years. He gave considerable attention to material progress, but revealed himself a man of ruthless and extravagant tendencies. The many uprisings that took place against him were suppressed by Castro without pity. During these revolutions considerable property of foreigners was destroyed, and Castro refused to compensate the owners for the damages suffered. As a result, the ports of Venezuela were blockaded in 1902 by warships of Great Britain, Germany, and Italy. Castro was advised by the government of the United States to agree to submit the question to arbitration, which he did. Mixed claims commissions, sitting at Caracas, awarded damages proportional to the losses suffered.

The Rule of Gómez. In 1908 Castro left for Europe, and while he was there the congress suspended him from office and allowed the vice-president, Juan Vicente Gómez, to assume the government. The following year Gómez was proclaimed president.

In 1914 the congress elected General Victoriano Márquez Bustillos provisional chief executive. A few months later a new constitution was promulgated, providing for a federal form of government, an executive to be elected for seven years; no vice-president, and a bicameral legislature. The following year Gómez was again elected president. But he

did not take office, preferring to leave the government in charge of the provisional president, Bustillos, and keeping for himself the post of commander-in-chief of the army.

Gómez ruled Venezuela until his death in 1935. He maintained order. By allowing foreign capitalists to exploit the oil resources of the nation, he increased the national revenues. In 1930, to celebrate the centennial of Bolívar's death, the remainder of the national debt was paid off. During his régime a fine system of automobile roads was built in Venezuela. Other improvements also took place. But the people, in general, remained in poverty and ignorance. Civil liberties were suppressed. All opposition to the president was ruthlessly checked, and many citizens were exiled, imprisoned, or assassinated.

Recent Politics. When Gómez died on December 17, 1935, the whole nation celebrated the event with rejoicing. Riots and attacks on the houses and persons of Gómez's supporters took place. General Eleazar López Contreras was appointed provisional executive by the congress. Later he was regularly elected president for five years. In 1936 a new constitution was adopted. Among other provisions, it contained one authorizing the breaking up of the large landed estates existing in the country. Social legislation, aiming at the improvement of the conditions of the laboring classes, was also adopted.

President López Contreras followed a moderate policy, promoting harbor improvements and other public works. A Central Bank was established in Caracas early in 1940, with a \$3,000,000 capital. A trade agreement was signed with the United States providing for certain tariff reductions on Venezuelan petroleum imported into the United States. A loan of \$10,000,000 was negotiated with the National City Bank for the Central Bank of Venezuela.

As the presidential elections approached (April, 1941), Diógenes Escalante, Venezuelan Ambassador to the United States, had the backing of President López Contreras and a substantial portion of the people. President López Contreras

himself repeatedly declared that he did not want to be re-elected.

Economic, Social, and Cultural Development. The total population of Venezuela is estimated at about 3,300,000, of which about 10 per cent are pure whites

Agriculture is the most important industry, and coffee is the leading crop. It has been estimated that there are about 260,000,000 coffee trees in the country, and the annual coffee production is approximately 1,500,000 bags. Cacao, sugar cane, tobacco, cotton, corn, wheat, and vegetables are also important products. The live-stock industry is a great source of wealth. The number of cattle existing in the republic is estimated at over 2,500,000. Forests cover nearly one-half of the area of the republic.

The country abounds in minerals. Gold, asphalt, mineral pitch, silver, coal, iron, copper, salt, and petroleum are important products. The petroleum industry began in 1917. In 1934 more than 142,000,000 barrels were produced. Most of the oil development has been on or near the shores of Lake Maracaibo.

Manufacturing is limited chiefly to articles of local consumption.

There are over 6,000 miles of navigable rivers, 663 miles of railroads, and over 5,000 miles of good highways. The country is served by Pan American Airways, Compañía Aeropostal of Venezuela, and by several other lines.

There were, in 1933, over 2,180 public primary schools in the country, with an enrolment of more than 121,000 pupils. Higher education has been much improved lately. There are two universities, the Central University of Caracas and the University of the Andes at Mérida, besides several institutions of commercial, artistic, and military education.

Venezuela's national literature is extensive and varied. Among the most important writers the following may be mentioned: José Antonio Maitín (1804-1874), a romantic poet; Juan Antonio Pérez Bonalde (1846-1892), a poet who wrote under the influence of German poets of his generation; José Gil Fortoul (b. 1862), a poet, historian, and novelist.

of great psychological insight; Manuel Romero García (b 1865), who portrayed rural life, Gonzalo Picón Febres (b 1860), one of the greatest novelists of Latin America and author of *El Sargento Felipe*; Manuel Díaz Rodríguez (b 1864), a novelist and author of *Ídolos rotos*; Rufino Blanco Fombona (b 1874), a modernist poet of great merit, author of *Cantos de la prisión y del destierro* and of the novels, *El Hombre de hierro* and *El Hombre de oro*; Rómulo Gallegos Freire (b 1884), a novelist whose *Doña Bárbara* is well-known everywhere in Latin America, Teresa de la Parra (1895-1936), a novelist of great talent, author of *Ifigenia* and *Las Memorias de Mamá Blanca*; and many others. Andrés Bello (1781-1865), one of the greatest literary men of Latin America, was born in Venezuela, although most of his life was spent in Europe and Chile.

Venezuela has produced distinguished artists, such as J. Rojas, a painter of classical inspiration; Martín Tovar y Tovar, a historical painter; Arturo Michelena, a painter of classical inspiration; Cabré, López Méndez, Otero, Golding, and Monasterios, modern painters, and Pérez Mujica, a sculptor.

ECUADOR

At the time of independence, the presidency of Quito veered between adherence to Bolívar's Great Colombia, annexation to Peru, and outright independence. Bolívar was successful in securing the annexation of this territory to Great Colombia. Later (1828) a Peruvian invasion was repulsed by General Sucre. Nevertheless, sentiment in favor of independence did not die out, and in May, 1830, a revolutionary junta met in Quito, declared that province independent from Great Colombia, and elected as provisional executive General Juan José Flores, a hero of the independence wars. In August of the same year, a congress met at Riobamba, declared the departments of Azuay, Guayas, and Quito as constituting a sovereign state under the name of the "State of Ecuador," and framed a constitution providing for the election of the executive for a term of four years by a unicameral legislature, and granting him broad powers of government. The Roman Catholic Church was declared the official Church of the re-

public A provision of the constitution declared the willingness of the new state to unite with other states of northern South America in some sort of confederation

From the beginning, Ecuador's political life was disturbed by internal dissension and external disputes the former caused by rivalry between ambitious *caudillos*, regional antagonism, and resentment against the Church; and the latter by undefined boundaries

The Rule of Flores. Under the Constitution of 1830 General Flores was elected first president At once trouble developed in Guayaquil, where General Rafael Urdaneta declared himself in favor of union with Great Colombia However, the news of Bolívar's death arrived soon after Opposition to Flores' government gradually disappeared A dispute over the boundary with New Granada in the Cauca and Carchi River region was settled in 1833 in favor of that country, after Ecuadorean forces were worsted in a short armed conflict.

President Flores soon developed dictatorial tendencies A young Liberal, named Vicente Rocafuerte, who had traveled abroad and had been elected to the congress, expressed opposition to him When Rocafuerte was exiled, an uprising took place in his favor in Guayaquil But it did not last long and Rocafuerte was imprisoned However, President Flores feared new outbreaks and decided to enter into an agreement with Rocafuerte whereby the latter would be made governor of an administrative province until Flores ended his term of office; then Rocafuerte would assume the presidency and Flores would be made commander of the national army.

The Rule of Rocafuerte. In accordance with this agreement, Rocafuerte became president in 1835 He at once called a constituent assembly, which met at Ambato and framed a new constitution changing the name of the country to "Republic of Ecuador" and, among other minor changes, providing for a bicameral legislature Rocafuerte endeavored to promote public education, commerce, and navigation In general he was inspired by high ideals

Flores Returns to the Presidency. In 1839 Flores returned to the presidency. His second administration was at first

comparatively free from disturbances. The ports of the nation were opened to commerce with Spain, after that country had recognized Ecuador's independence in 1840. Treaties of commerce were signed with various countries. The failure of Flores to settle satisfactorily the boundary dispute existing with Peru and the general economic depression led to considerable antagonism toward him. Wishing to perpetuate himself in power, he had a new constitution drafted in 1843 extending the president's term of office to eight years. Then he caused himself to be reelected. Two years later the Liberals revolted and Flores was overthrown, agreeing to leave the country in voluntary exile.

The Anarchy of 1845-1860. The same year (1845) still another constitution was adopted by an assembly meeting at Cuenca and entirely under the control of the Liberals and Anti-Clericals. According to this new instrument of government, the president's term of office was to be four years. Vicente Roca was elected president. At once the country was plunged into revolution due to the radical character of the legislation adopted. This condition lasted until 1860. During this period difficulties arose with New Granada on the matter of political refugees, but the dispute was settled peacefully by the agreement of Santa Rosa del Carchi in 1846. A decree signed by President Diego Noboa in 1851 permitted the Jesuit Society to return to Ecuador. A new constitution was adopted the same year, and the capital was moved to Guayaquil by President José Urbina. In 1852 another constitution was adopted similar to that of 1845 but providing for the election of the president by electoral assemblies. Laws were adopted under this new constitution expelling the Jesuits again and abolishing slavery, with compensation to the owners.

By 1860 the country was divided into several dictatorships. Taking advantage of this situation, Peru blockaded the port of Guayaquil and forced the ruler of that region, General Guillermo Franco, to sign an agreement whereby Peru acquired sovereignty over the Azuay province. The indignation caused in Ecuador by this humiliating agreement offered General Flores the opportunity of gathering, with the aid of Gabriel García Moreno, a force strong enough to defeat

Franco and capture Guayaquil. Flores then retired, and García Moreno was elected president (1861)

The Rule of García Moreno. From then on until his assassination in 1875, García Moreno ruled the country even when out of the presidency. A well educated man, energetic, and possessing strong convictions, he had been unfavorably impressed with the results of the European Liberal revolutions of the middle nineteenth century and had become convinced that his country could be saved from anarchy only by restoring to the Catholic Church the power and influence it had enjoyed during colonial days.

Soon after his election, García Moreno caused a new constitution to be adopted, which provided for a highly centralized form of government and declared the Catholic Church the official Church of the state, to the exclusion of all others.

The following year (1862) Ecuador signed with the papacy a concordat restoring to the Catholic Church all the privileges it had enjoyed before independence, including the complete control of public education and the censorship over all publications.

The president then embarked on a program of reforms, including the improvement of roads, harbors, and public buildings, the stimulation of commerce and agriculture, the elimination of corruption in the public administration, and the establishment of a uniform currency.

A war with New Granada, in which the Ecuadorean army was defeated, and the president's severe treatment of his political opponents, created unrest. At the end of García Moreno's term of office (1865), Jerónimo Carrión was elected chief executive. The new president quarreled with the congress, had difficulty with García Moreno, and finally resigned (1867). Two years later García Moreno became president again. Intending to perpetuate himself in power, he caused the constitution to be amended extending the president's term of office to six years, and allowing his immediate reelection.

During his second administration García Moreno continued his program of reforms. His devotion to the Catholic

Church led him to instruct the Ecuadorean representative at Rome to protest against the confiscation, in 1871, of the papal territory by the Italian government. He also had the Ecuadorean Congress offer gifts of money to the papacy. In October, 1873, a law was adopted by the national congress consecrating the republic to the "Sacred Heart of Jesus."

Despite strong antagonism from the Liberals and Anti-Clericals, García Moreno was reelected in 1875. But in August of the same year his rule ended by his assassination. There followed a period of anarchy until 1895, when another strong man, Eloy Alfaro, assumed control of the government.

The Rule of Alfaro. On June 5, 1895, Eloy Alfaro, a Liberal of great ability, was declared chief executive by a revolution in Guayaquil. At the time he was absent from the country, as he had been exiled by President Luis Cordero. Returning to Ecuador, he organized the opposition against the government, defeated the loyal troops, and the following September entered the capital, where he was soon proclaimed president by the congress.

For the following sixteen years Alfaro was the controlling factor in the political life of Ecuador. In 1897 a new constitution was adopted granting religious freedom and setting aside most of the provisions of the Concordat of 1862. Although the Catholic Church remained the official Church, the religious orders were expelled, and only native clergymen were allowed to perform the religious functions. Quito again became the capital of the republic. Later, laws were adopted legalizing civil marriage, permitting divorce, and secularizing certain Church properties, the income of which was to be devoted to the maintenance of asylums, hospitals, and other charitable organizations. Complete religious freedom was not decreed until October 13, 1904.

From 1901 to 1905 General Leonidas Plaza Gutiérrez ruled in comparative peace. But his successor, Lizardo García, was overthrown by a revolution, and on January 17, 1906, Eloy Alfaro became president again. He at once called a constituent assembly, which met in the capital and drafted a new constitution providing for the election of the president by direct vote of the people for four years, no immediate reelec-

tion of the executive, a bicameral legislature, a council of state, public education under the control of laymen, and religious freedom

Alfaro, inaugurated on January 1, 1907, remained in power for four years. He promoted railroad construction connecting the coast with the plateau where the capital is situated, and other improvements. Opposed by the Conservatives and some Liberals, he was accused of intending to make himself dictator. In 1911 he decided to resign and left for Europe. Anarchy followed and Alfaro was persuaded to return. As he endeavored to regain control of the government, he was murdered on January 28, 1912.

Presidents Since 1912. After Alfaro's assassination another period of anarchy followed. President succeeded president amidst general disorder. In 1914 President Leonidas Plaza Gutiérrez endeavored to bring about a constitutional change to allow the introduction of a parliamentary system, but he failed. In 1928 President Gonzalo Córdoba was deposed, and several government juntas followed at close intervals. In April, 1926, the army proclaimed Dr. Isidro Ayora provisional executive. He initiated serious studies of the economic ailments of Ecuador and engaged for that purpose the services of a group of American economists headed by Professor Edwin W. Kemmerer of Princeton University. As a result reforms were introduced, a central bank was established on June 1, 1927, and the currency was reformed. In 1929 a new constitution was adopted, not very different from previous ones, and Dr. Ayora was again elected president. In September, 1930, he presented his resignation to the congress, which did not accept it. The economic depression then felt all over the world, brought Dr. Ayora's administration considerable criticism from his political enemies. He decided to resign once more, and this time his resignation was accepted. He was followed in the presidency by Colonel Luis Larrea Alba. Strikes, revolutions, and general disorder made this period a particularly difficult one for Ecuador. In September, 1935, Federico Páez assumed the dictatorship. His administration became very unpopular in consequence of his measures against the so-called "Communist elements." Left-wing

activities were suppressed with a ruthless hand, and a number of the president's political opponents were exiled. Unrest throughout the country finally led the president to resign on October 23, 1937. General Alberto Enríquez, War Minister in the Páez Cabinet, assumed the executive power.

A constituent assembly was convened (August 10, 1937) to draft a new constitution. Under this new charter Dr. Aurelio Mosquera Narváez was elected to the presidency in 1939. Dr. Mosquera Narváez died, however, in December of the same year, and the president of the senate, Dr. Carlos Arroyo del Río, took his place in provisional character. Despite unrest and rumors of impending revolution, at the elections held on January 10 and 11, 1940, Dr. Arroyo del Río was elected president for the term of 1940-1944.

In the latter part of 1940 the long-standing border conflict with Peru flared once more. In the same year Ecuador received a credit of \$1,150,000 from the U. S. Export-Import Bank.

Foreign Complications. The relations of Ecuador with her neighbors have been rendered difficult on account of boundary disputes. In 1904 a treaty was signed with Brazil accepting as the boundary a line running from the mouth of the San Antonio River to the mouth of the Apaporis River in a region also claimed by Peru and Colombia. In 1916 an agreement with Colombia settled the existing dispute. The remaining claimant to the same region, Peru, had agreed to submit the controversy to the arbitration of the Spanish crown in 1904. But the award was withheld by the arbiter for fear that war might ensue between the two contending parties. Later negotiations led to the decision of submitting the dispute to the arbitration of the President of the United States if direct negotiations failed to bring about a settlement. By the end of 1938 the negotiations were at a standstill.

Economic, Social, and Cultural Development. The population of Ecuador was estimated at over 2,550,000 in 1932, of which only about 200,000 are pure whites. Most of the population are to be found on the highlands of the Cordillera and live entirely isolated from outside influences. Since 1922

the government has attempted to bring these people into the life of the nation by means of education and economic help.

Ecuador is the world's greatest producer of cacao. Production in 1934 was 41,876,000 pounds. However, since 1921, the disease known as "witch broom" has reduced the crop a great deal. Most of the cacao exported by Ecuador is produced along the coast, the principal region being that of the Guayas River valley. The country also exports vegetable ivory, straw hats (called Panama hats), and some coffee. Of the latter the country produces annually about 150,000 bags of 200 pounds each. Sugar cane and cotton are also produced. Cattle raising is of importance both along the coast and in the interior. Tropical fruits are exported. Tobacco of different varieties is produced, but little is exported.

The mineral deposits have been slightly developed, although the country is known to have valuable deposits of gold, mercury, copper, iron, lead, silver, platinum, sulphur, and petroleum. Some coal has been found in the interior of the republic. Since 1920 petroleum has become an important source of national income to the government. The oil deposits were declared the property of the state, and the production was taxed. The oil concessions cover some 250,000 acres, and the production was 1,619,902 barrels in 1933.

Education has developed slowly. In 1931 there were about 2,300 schools devoted to primary education, with an enrolment of 181,700 pupils. There are approximately twenty-two secondary schools, with an enrolment of nearly 6,000 students, and three universities, the Central University of Quito, and the Universities of Guayaquil and Cuenca. There are also several professional schools, a National Conservatory of Music, and a National School of Fine Arts.

Ecuador is proud of being the birthplace of José Joaquín Olmedo (1780-1847), one of the greatest poets of Latin America. He wrote in a classical mood and is the author of *La Victoria de Junín*, an ode celebrating Bolívar's victory over the Spanish armies. Other Ecuadorean writers of note are: Juan León Mera (1832-1899), and Numa Pompilio Llona (1832-1907), who belonged to the Romantic school,

the former being the author of *La Virgen del Sol*, poetry, and *Cumandá, o un drama entre salvajes*, a novel, Juan Montalvo (1833-1889), an essayist and imitator of Cervantes; Alejandro Carrío, a modern poet, Jorge Fernández, a novelist, Jorge Icaza, a novelist of great merit and author of indigenous novels *Huaspungo*, *En las calles*, and others

Ecuador has produced many artists of great merit, such as Antonio Salas and his sons Ramón and Rafael, all painters. In recent years, Xito Durán, a composer of music of native inspiration, has become internationally known

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CHAPTER EIGHTEEN

PERU, BOLIVIA, AND CHILE

The political life of Peru, Bolivia, and Chile has been closely interwoven since independence, either by temporary union (Peru and Bolivia), armed conflict, or economic interdependence. For many years, because of the difficulty of access to these countries, they were comparatively isolated from the rest of the world. Since the opening of the Panama Canal, however, their influence in the affairs of the Western Hemisphere has grown steadily.

PERU

The history of Peru is a succession of dictatorships made inevitable by the complete lack of political consciousness of the masses—90 per cent of which are Indians and *Mestizos*—and the tradition of autocratic government of the ruling minority.

In 1822 the congress convened by San Martín, the Protector of Peru, adopted the bases of a constitution providing for a republican form of government, the division of powers, the election of the executive for four years, and a unicameral legislature. The same congress also elected a governing junta, which was overthrown the following year by dissatisfied army officers, and José de la Riva Agüero, a distinguished Creole patriot, was elected president.

Bolívar, Dictator of Peru. The government shifted from one place to another during the remainder of the independence war. President Riva Agüero quarreled with the legislature, dissolved it, and created in its place a senate of twelve members. But in the capital the dismissed legislators were

reinstalled by José Bernardo Tagle, Marquis of Torre Tagle, who immediately thereafter was declared by them president, in place of Riva Agüero. Under the circumstances, with two rival governments attempting to rule the country, while the war against the royalists was still undecided, the Lima assembly invited Bolívar to come to Peru. Offering him dictatorial powers, the legislature suspended the Constitution of 1823 and adjourned *sine die*.

At the end of the war Bolívar's powers were continued until the meeting of a new congress. The Liberator appointed a governing council headed by Hipólito Unánue, to rule in his absence. He also issued decrees curtailing the privileges of the Church and providing for other reforms.

In 1826 the situation in northern South America compelled the Liberator to return to Bogotá, leaving the government of Peru in the hands of a council of which General Andrés Santa Cruz was president. This council proceeded to promulgate for Peru the same constitution drafted by the Liberator for Bolivia, a highly idealistic instrument of government providing for a tricameral legislature and an executive elected for life. Under this constitution the Liberator was elected president of Peru.

All this produced antagonism against Bolívar and his fellow countrymen. This antagonism was intensified by the suspicion that the Liberator wished to join Peru and Bolivia to Great Colombia. The fact that Colombian troops still remained quartered in the country seemed to confirm this suspicion.

The Bolivarian Régime Overthrown. In 1827 several battalions of the Colombian troops mutinied and had to be sent home. Taking advantage of this opportunity, the Peruvians overthrew the governing council left by Bolívar, established a provisional government of their own, adopted once more the Constitution of 1823, and elected General José de La Mar as president.

Meanwhile, resentment against Bolívar's interference in Peru and Bolivia continued to grow. In 1828 some Colombian troops stationed in Bolivia mutinied. Under the pretext of

restoring order, Peruvian forces invaded Bolivia, compelled General Sucre, then president of that country, to resign and leave the country taking with him the remaining Colombian soldiers. The following year relations between Peru and Colombia were strained to the breaking point by a dispute over the division of the debt arising from the wars of independence and over the boundary between the two countries. During the short war that ensued a Peruvian fleet attacked Guayaquil, but the Colombian forces defeated the Peruvian army sent against them. Peace was restored without a definite settlement of some of the pending questions, which later were to bring about new difficulties between the two countries.

In 1828 General Agustín Gamarra was made provisional president of Peru, replacing General La Mar, who was deposed. In 1833 a constituent congress elected General Luis José Orbegoso as president. Gamarra in turn dissolved the congress and proclaimed General Pedro Bermúdez chief executive despite the opposition of the civilian population. Civil war followed, ending with the victory of the civilian party and the return of Orbegoso to the presidency. The same year (1834) a new constitution was adopted. But while the president was away from the capital, a military revolution deposed him and proclaimed in his place General Felipe Santiago de Salaverry as dictator.

Salaverry was an intelligent and courageous young army officer who had distinguished himself in the war of independence. He was well intentioned but inclined to cruelty.

Intense commercial rivalry developed at this time between the ports of Valparaíso, in Chile, and Callao, in Peru. Realizing the closeness of the commercial interests of the two nations, Salaverry advocated some sort of commercial union between Peru and Chile. In 1835 he signed a treaty with Chile doing away with high tariffs imposed upon Chilean products imported into Peru. This treaty was received with a good deal of antagonism in Peru.

The Peru-Bolivian Confederation. Bolivia was then ruled by General Andrés Santa Cruz, who had favored, to a certain extent, Bolívar's plan of union of Bolivia and Peru to Great Colombia but who had ambitions of his own in regard to the

two former states. Invited by the deposed presidents, Gamarra and Orbegoso, to intervene in Peru, Santa Cruz marched at the head of an army into that country, defeated Salaverry, assumed control of the government and reorganized the nation into two provinces, Northern and Southern Peru, joining them to Bolivia under the name of *Confederación Peru-Boliviana*. Santa Cruz was appointed Supreme Protector of the Confederation. This union of the two countries did not last long. By 1839 Santa Cruz's troops had been defeated by armies sent against them by Chile and Argentina. Santa Cruz himself was compelled to resign and leave the country.

After the disruption of the Confederation, a congress met in Lima, annulled all the acts of Santa Cruz, and adopted a new constitution (November 18, 1839), which provided for a bicameral congress and the election of the executive for a six-year term. Under this constitution General Gamarra was elected president.

Now came the turn of Gamarra to invade Bolivia in order to overthrow General José Ballivián, the successor of Santa Cruz. But the Peruvian forces were defeated, and Gamarra was killed in battle (1841). Thanks to the mediation of Chile, a treaty ending the conflict was signed the following year between the two nations.

Despite the constant unrest, Peru experienced a certain economic progress during this period. In 1840 the first steamship line was established between Callao and Talcahuano, and the following year guano began to be exported to Europe.

Castilla's Rule. After the death of Gamarra, the country went through a period of general anarchy until 1844, when Ramón Castilla was made president. A man of strong character and great ability, although possessing little education, he ruled with a strong hand. His administration is characterized by economic prosperity owing to a great increase in the nitrates and guano exports. The government was enabled through the monopoly of the sale of guano to consolidate the internal debt and to begin payments on the foreign debt. Castilla reorganized the army and the navy, improved means of communication, and built one of the first railroads in South America, connecting the capital with the port of Callao.

Immigration was encouraged. Chinese coolies were brought over to work on the farms, but this immigration was stopped in 1874, when the cruel treatment of the coolies led them to rebel against their masters.

Castilla was succeeded in 1851 by José Rufino Echenique, whose administration was characterized by corruption. Four years later Echenique was overthrown, and Castilla returned to power as a dictator. Peru enjoyed a new period of prosperity during Castilla's second administration. Education was promoted, Negro slavery was abolished, and the Indians were freed from the payment of tribute which they had been accustomed to make since colonial days. In 1856 a new constitution was promulgated. Despite general prosperity, peace was broken by insurrections at various times. Castilla, in 1859, partly to divert the people's attention from internal conflict, provoked a quarrel with Ecuador over the boundary question. The Peruvian fleet blockaded the Ecuadorian coasts, and a treaty was forced from General Guillermo Franco, then dictator of Guayaquil (Treaty of Mapasingue, signed in 1860). This treaty was at one time or another repudiated by both nations as not having been signed by a truly national government.

In 1860 a Liberal constitution was adopted. Castilla was succeeded by General Miguel San Román, who died within a few months of his inauguration and was replaced by the vice-president, General Juan Antonio Pezet. Another period of wastefulness and anarchy began.

War with Spain. In 1864 a war broke out with Spain, Peru being supported by Ecuador, Bolivia, and Chile. Spain had not yet recognized Peru's independence. Attempting to collect damages for injuries suffered by Spanish citizens in Peru during the many revolutions of the period since independence, the Spanish government found it impossible to secure a satisfactory reply. In 1864 a Spanish fleet was sent to the Pacific, and the Chincha Islands, belonging to Peru, were occupied. President Pezet endeavored to bring about a peaceful settlement of the dispute. Public indignation at the terms demanded by Spain and accepted by Pezet, resulted in the latter's overthrow. Mariano Ignacio Prado assumed the executive office in 1865 and negotiated an alliance with

the neighboring nations against Spain. Actual conflict lasted only a few months, and the hostilities were suspended, thanks to the mediation of the United States in 1871. But the treaty of peace was not signed until 1879.

Prado's Administration. President Prado reformed the administration, curtailed expenses, and promoted industry and agriculture. In 1867 a new constitution not much different from previous ones went into effect. The following year President Prado was overthrown, and José Balta became chief executive. He was honest and well intentioned. But owing to the financial difficulties of the country, he was compelled to negotiate an unfavorable contract with French bankers whereby, in return for a loan, a monopoly of guano exports up to two million tons was granted to the bankers. Complications developed when the price of guano fell. The foreign debt of Peru rose to enormous proportions.

Balta was overthrown in 1872 and shot during a military revolution headed by Tomás Gutiérrez. This caused great indignation throughout the nation. Gutiérrez in turn was shot by revolutionists. The congress then elected Manuel Pardo as president. The new executive set himself to reduce the influence of the army in politics and to create a civilian party. He restored the municipalities, which assumed control of local education.

The financial conditions of Peru were rendered worse at this time by the artificial production of fertilizers abroad. In an effort to increase the national revenues the nitrate fields were taken over by the government. On February 6, 1873, a treaty of alliance was signed with Bolivia.

War of the Pacific. A dispute over the boundary between Chile and Bolivia in the Atacama region resulted in the occupation of the coast of Antofagasta, Cobija, and Tocopilla by Chilean troops. Peru endeavored to bring about a peaceful settlement of the dispute. But Chile not only refused the Peruvian good offices, but demanded that the treaty of alliance between Peru and Bolivia be abrogated. When this was refused, Chile declared war upon both countries (April 5, 1879).

During the conflict, being better armed, the Chilean forces defeated the allied troops, captured Lima, and destroyed a great deal of civilian property in Peru

When President Pardo left for Europe, presumably to secure help, Nicolás Piérola arose against the government and assumed the dictatorship of Peru. Piérola, in turn, was overthrown. A provisional government headed by Francisco García Calderón attempted to negotiate peace with Chile, but failed. Anarchy reigned throughout the country. In 1882 Colonel Iglesias was given full powers by the congress to negotiate with the Chilean authorities. The War of the Pacific finally ended between Chile and Peru with the signing of the Treaty of Ancón in 1883. This treaty was ratified by both nations the following year. In August of 1884, the Chilean troops withdrew from Peruvian territory.

The Question of the Pacific. The Treaty of Ancón gave rise to a long controversy between Peru and Chile, known as the Question of the Pacific, which was not settled until 1929. One of its provisions declared that the province of Tarapacá was to be ceded by Peru to Chile in perpetuity; the province of Tacna was to be occupied by Chile for ten years, and at the end of that period a plebiscite was to decide to which of the two nations it would belong. The country receiving the province would pay the other ten million pesos. In 1898 an agreement was signed (Billinghurst-Latorre) whereby the question of whether the plebiscite should be held or not was to be submitted to the arbitration of the Spanish crown. This agreement was not ratified by Chile, and Tacna continued to be governed by Chilean authorities. In 1910 Peru severed diplomatic relations with Chile. Twelve years later the two governments accepted the mediation of the United States and decided to submit the question of the plebiscite to the arbitration of the President of the United States. President Coolidge, in 1925, decided that a plebiscite should be held; but it was not possible to hold it, because of the unrest which prevailed in the disputed area. Diplomatic relations having been reestablished in 1928 at the suggestion of Secretary Kellogg, the following year a plan was adopted by the two countries whereby Chile was to receive the pro-

vince of Arica and that of Tacna was to go to Peru. Chile further agreed to pay to Peru six million dollars and to build port facilities in Arica for Peru. The treaty was ratified on July 28, 1929.

The Aftermath of the War of the Pacific. After the War of the Pacific a period of general anarchy followed in Peru. In 1886 General Andrés Bello Cáceres was elected president. He ruled with dictatorial powers, curtailing the government expenditures and entering into an agreement with the foreign bondholders whereby the income of the national railroads was pledged to them for sixty-six years. Civil war spread to the whole country in 1894-1895. The conflict ended with the assuming of the executive power by Nicolás Piérola.

The Rule of Leguía, and the Revolution of 1930. From 1908 to 1912, and again from 1919 to 1930, Augusto B. Leguía ruled as absolute dictator. In 1920 a Liberal constitution was adopted, but Leguía disregarded it entirely. Although many improvements took place during his rule, the country was dissatisfied.

In 1909 the President of Argentina issued his award in the Peruvian dispute with Bolivia over the boundary line. Although the decision was favorable in the main to Bolivia, the people of that country protested against it. The relations between Peru and Bolivia thereupon became strained, and war was avoided only by the exchange of certain portions of territory. The dispute over the boundary with Ecuador almost led to war between the two countries in 1910, but the conflict was averted by the intervention of the United States, Brazil, and Argentina.

Antagonism against President Leguía resulted in a military revolt in 1930. Leguía was compelled to leave the country, and Luis Sánchez Cerro, leader of the revolt, became chief executive. The political situation in the country was rendered more acute by the economic depression. Strikes, rioting, and military plots led to the resignation of Sánchez Cerro the following year. But he was regularly elected to the presidency soon after that.

In the latter part of 1931 the president arbitrarily arrested Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre, leader of the party known as Apra (*Alianza Popular Revolucionaria Americana*), and deported other members of the same party. On April 30, 1933, Sánchez Cerro was assassinated, presumably by an *Aprista* fanatic, and General Oscar Benavides, a strong Conservative, was elected to govern the country by a constituent assembly then gathered at the capital.

Benavides' Dictatorship. At first Benavides showed a tendency to be conciliatory. But during the presidential elections of 1936 he not only caused the name of the Apra candidate (Haya de la Torre) to be stricken from the ballot, but when the *Aprista* substitute candidate (Luis Eguiguren) appeared to have received a majority of votes, the president annulled the elections. A short time afterwards he assumed dictatorial authority, and his term of office was prolonged for three years. There were several attempts to overthrow President Benavides, one of the most serious having been discovered in October, 1939, while the president was on a visit to the south of Peru.

President Prado. At the presidential elections held in 1939, Manuel Prado y Ugarteche, an anti-militarist Liberal, was chosen. Inaugurated on December 8, 1939, President Prado was considerably handicapped in his efforts to restore the country to normalcy, by the lack of foreign exchange. A banker by profession, a man of liberal and democratic ideas, President Prado freed all political prisoners jailed during Benavides' administration, and has endeavored to promote the exploitation of the national resources.

In June, 1940, the U S Export-Import Bank extended a credit of \$2,000,000 to Peru and in December of the same year an additional credit of \$10,000,000 for the establishment of the steel industry in Peru.

Former President Benavides' influence is still strongly felt in the country, although he left Peru after the expiration of his term to become Peruvian Ambassador to Spain. By signing a series of last minute decrees just before his term expired, he launched a huge program of public works.

and granted an increase of pay to all military and police forces.

Economic Development. The great national resources of Peru are mineral and agricultural. The mineral production includes copper, gold, silver, vanadium, coal, crude petroleum, lead, bismuth, nickel, mercury, sulphur, borax, tungsten, antimony, molybdenum, salt, etc. Petroleum to the amount of more than 16,500,000 barrels was produced in 1935. Peru ranks among the greatest producers of vanadium. The exploitation of guano deposits still constitutes today an important branch of industry, although not quite as important as it was in former years. In 1935 asphalt deposits were discovered in the province of Parinacochas, Central Peru.

While Peru is rich in minerals, the native population is essentially agricultural in nature. Cultivation of sugar cane is the principal industry of the coastal zone. The area under cultivation is about 200,000 acres, and the annual production is more than 525,000 tons.

Cotton is also an important product. More than 300,000 acres are devoted to this crop, and the production is about 270,000 bales a year. Rice is produced in the provinces of Chiclayo, Lambayeque, and Pacasmayo. More than 54,800 tons were grown in 1933. Cocoa, tobacco, wheat, maize, potatoes, and coffee are other important products. The silk industry and the production of fruits are also of considerable importance.

The country exports skins and wool produced by alpacas, sheep, and llamas. Manufacturing, although varied, is limited to the industries of local consumption.

The country has many navigable rivers, some 2,600 miles of railroads, and about 12,056 miles of highways of various types. The Pan American-Grace Airways, operating planes between New York and Valparaíso, makes numerous stops in Peru.

Social Development. The population of Peru is estimated at about 6,200,000 inhabitants, of which only about 10 per cent are pure whites. The remainder of the population, mostly Indians and *Mestizos*, live in small communities scat-

tered throughout the country. Their standards of living are comparatively low and primitive. During the last half century or so, a large number of Orientals migrated to Peru. In recent years the Indian population has received some attention from the authorities, efforts being made to incorporate Indians into national life by means of school education, the teaching of the Spanish language, instruction on improved methods of raising crops, and the establishment of agencies for their social betterment.

Public Education. There are some 3,800 public primary schools, with an enrolment of 380,000 pupils. The secondary schools numbered 39 in 1933, with an enrolment of 14,000 students. Professional education is offered in the University of San Marcos, founded in 1551, in the Catholic University (privately maintained) located in the capital, and in the universities of Cuzco, Trujillo, and Arequipa. There are also schools of agriculture, veterinary science, engineering, fine arts, and music.

Literary and Artistic Development. The literature of Peru is very rich. Among the most notable writers are the following: Felipe Pardo y Aliaga (1806-1868), who wrote comedies; Ricardo Palma (1833-1919), who wrote interesting chronicles—his *Tradiciones peruanas* being a classic of Latin American literature that is known everywhere; Pedro Paz Soldán y Unánue (1839-1895), one of the country's greatest poets, author of *Cuadros y episodios peruanos*—poetic descriptions of everyday events; Clorinda Matto de Turner, a novelist and the author of *Aves sin nido*, calling attention to the condition of the natives; Mercedes Rabello de Carbonero, also a novelist, and author of *Las Consecuencias* and *El Conspirador*; José Santos Chocano (1875-1934), one of the leading poets of Latin America, of virile inspiration; Francisco García Calderón, a historian and essayist, Enríque López Albújar, a modern novelist of native inspiration and the author of *Matalaché*; César Vallejo, a poet and also a novelist, author of *Tungsteno*; César Falcón, a novelist and the author of *Pueblo sin Dios*; José Gálvez, a poet; Jorge Guillermo Leguía, Raúl Porras B. (b 1897), Jorge Basadre (b 1903), historians,

Julio C. Tello (b 1880), archeologist, Estuardo Núñez, critic, and Manuel González Prada, an essayist and literary critic

In Robles and Valderrama, Peru has two of the greatest musical composers of modern Latin America Francisco Laso (1823-1868) and José Sabogal, painters of great merit

BOLIVIA

Bolivia is a sparsely inhabited country where the aboriginal element predominates. Politics have been controlled by the white Creole minority, who have exploited the government in their own interests. Rivalry among political leaders has resulted in endless wars, revolutions, and dictators.

In colonial days Bolivia first formed part of the Viceroyalty of Peru, and later, of La Plata. Lima and Buenos Aires continued for a long time to be the two principal centers of political attraction. In fact, for a while during the wars of independence, it appeared as if Bolivia would become a part of the Plata system, but the prestige of Bolívar and his military victories of 1824 and 1825 placed in his hands the government of the country. On August 6, 1825, an assembly gathered at Chuquisaca and declared the independence of Alto Peru. In honor of the Liberator the assembly changed the name of the country to "Bolívar," and declared the Liberator "Father, Protector, and First President." It also provided that the country's capital, to be chosen later, would be named after General Sucre, the victor of Avacucho.

The Rule of Bolívar. Bolívar assumed the government of Upper Peru as part of Peru proper, and disregarding the national assembly of Chuquisaca, entered into negotiations with foreign capitalists for the sale of the Potosí mines. He also agreed to cede to the United Provinces of the River Plate, the province of Tarija. This, however, was opposed by the inhabitants of that region, who remained loyal to the Bolivian government.

The Liberator then proceeded to draft a constitution for the new state, the name of which was changed to Bolivia at his request. This constitution was a highly theoretical instrument of government, providing for the election of the ex-

executive for life and for the establishment of a tricameral legislature made up of Censors, Senators, and a House of Tribunes. With slight changes, this constitution was accepted by the Chuquisaca Congress and promulgated on November 6, 1826.

As the Liberator wished to return to Colombia, General Sucre was elected president on December 9, 1826.

The National Revolution against Sucre. Antagonism toward Bolívar and Sucre had developed because of the suspicion that the former wanted to annex Bolivia to his Great Colombia. When, in 1828, a Colombian battalion stationed at Chuquisaca mutinied, a Peruvian army under the command of General Gamarra invaded Bolivia under the pretext of restoring order. General Sucre was compelled to resign and to leave the country. The Colombian troops were dismissed. The assembly elected as president, General Andrés Santa Cruz, who was then absent in Chile. Returning to Bolivia (1829), Santa Cruz undertook to restore peace. Bolívar's constitution was discarded, and a new one was adopted, providing for the usual division of powers and election of the executive for a term of four years.

The Peru-Bolivian Confederation. Santa Cruz, who had served under Bolívar in Peru and had been president of the government council left by the Liberator in charge of that country, favored the union of the two countries and planned to become their only ruler. An identical ambition seems to have been entertained by General Gamarra, chief executive of Peru. The rivalry between the two executives was aggravated by commercial rivalry between the ports of Arica, in Peru, and Bobija, in Bolivia, the latter having been made a free port by Santa Cruz in 1830. But a treaty of commerce signed between the two nations in 1832 finally settled the controversy for the time being.

However, General Santa Cruz continued to scheme for the union of the two nations. Taking advantage of a state of anarchy in Peru, where Generals Orbegoso and Gamarra were fighting for the control of power, Santa Cruz decided to intervene in that country to promote his own interests. In 1835 Bolivian troops invaded Peru. After defeating the

two rival factions, Santa Cruz assumed control of the government, reorganized the country into two provinces, and joined them to Bolivia as a Confederation. Santa Cruz became Protector of the union, appointing José Miguel de Velasco, President of Bolivia, General Orbegoso, President of North Peru, and Pío Tristán, President of South Peru. On May 1, 1837, the pact of the Confederation was approved by an assembly of representatives of the three provinces.

The Confederation did not last long. Chile, then under the strong leadership of Portales, and Argentina, where Rosas ruled, disapproved of the formation of a strong state near their own territories. With armies sent against Santa Cruz they defeated him and compelled the protector to leave the country. Retiring to Guayaquil, Santa Cruz endeavored several times to come back, but failed and left for Europe, where he died in 1865.

Restoration of Independence. Even before the defeat of Santa Cruz was known in Bolivia, a revolution led by Generals José Miguel de Velasco and José Ballivián had declared the Confederation abolished. A congress met and adopted a liberal constitution, electing Velasco as president in 1839.

Thereupon Ballivián revolted against the government. Civil war followed in which General Santa Cruz also took a part. By 1841 General Gamarra of Peru had decided to invade Bolivia. But the warring factions in Bolivia united against him, and Gamarra was killed in battle. Peace between the two countries was signed on June 7, 1842. That same year the region along the coast where guano was found became an administrative province of Chile under the name of Atacama. Bolivia protested, alleging that the province was under her own sovereignty, but the Chileans continued to gain control over the region despite the protests of Bolivia.

Meanwhile, anarchy in Bolivia increased. Among the many dictators, one, General Manuel Isidoro Belzu, distinguished himself for his tyranny. At one time he was nearly killed by his enemies. In his struggle to keep himself in power, he had many people executed, others imprisoned, and still others exiled. However, he restored to the

Indians their communal lands and reestablished the municipal governments throughout the country. The worst of these rulers was Mariano Melgarejo, an extremely cruel man who ruled as an absolute tyrant through his general secretary, Mariano Donato Muñoz. He devaluated the currency by issuing quantities of paper money, sold the Indian communal lands at public auction, and signed with Chile a treaty of limits (1866) highly unfavorable to Bolivia and the following year another with Brazil no less unfavorable to his country.

Eventually, indignation over these treaties led to the usual revolution, during which Melgarejo was overthrown. He was followed by Agustín Morales (1871), who in a fit of insanity insulted and beat several officials of his entourage, and was killed by one of them.

In 1873 Adolfo Ballivián became president. He signed a treaty of alliance (February 6, 1873) with Peru. In 1874 a new treaty was signed, with Chile recognizing the 24th parallel as the boundary between the two countries and providing for the joint ownership for twenty-five years of the guano deposits found between the 23rd and 24th parallels. Bolivia also agreed not to tax Chilean industry in the region between the two parallels mentioned.

The War of the Pacific. Despite the Treaty of 1874 the Bolivian Congress in 1878 established a tax of ten centavos per quintal of nitrate exported. The concessionaires, mostly Chileans, refused to pay this tax, and when the Bolivian authorities took measures to enforce the law, they appealed to the Chilean government for protection. At once Chilean troops occupied Antofagasta (February, 1879).

An offer from Peru to mediate in the question was rejected by the Chilean government. War was declared by Chile against Bolivia and Peru on April 5, 1879. Despite the bravery of the Peruvian and Bolivian troops, Chile won most of the engagements. After the Battle of Tarapacá, which was won by the Chileans, General Hilarión Daza, chief executive of Bolivia, abandoned Tacna and returned to Bolivia proper. Denounced as a traitor and a coward, he was overthrown by a military uprising in Arica.

Peru signed a treaty of peace with Chile in 1883 without the participation of Bolivia. The following year Bolivia signed a truce with Chile providing that the territory occupied by Chile and claimed by Bolivia was to continue in the hands of Chile until the final negotiation of peace terms. Commercial relations between the two nations were to be restored at once.

The Settlement of the Dispute with Chile. In 1891, when relations between Argentina and Chile were strained on account of a boundary dispute between them, Bolivia attempted to secure the help of Argentina in the negotiation of a peace treaty with Chile. In exchange for this help, Bolivia promised seriously to consider annexation of her territory to Argentina. Under the circumstances, Chile was induced to sign a treaty (1895) recognizing Bolivia's right to a strip of land on the Pacific Ocean, Chile assuming to provide within two years harbor facilities for Bolivia. But since this provision was not carried out, the treaty was considered abrogated. Eventually, in 1904, Bolivia formally surrendered to Chile the province of Atacama, and Chile agreed to build a railroad from Arica to La Paz, capital of Bolivia, and to build port facilities on the Pacific for the use of Bolivian trade. Both the railroad and the port would pass to Bolivian ownership fifteen years after the construction of the road. Chile was also to pay an indemnity of 300,000 pounds sterling to Bolivia and to assume the claims of Chileans against Bolivia. The Arica-La Paz railroad was finished in 1912. In later years Bolivia has endeavored to secure a revision of the treaty, but without effect.

The Chaco War and Its Aftermath. In 1879 a treaty was signed between Paraguay and Bolivia recognizing as boundary a line due west from the mouth of the Apa River to the Pilcomayo River. This treaty was not ratified. Various other attempts to settle the question failed. In 1927 the two countries came close to settling the dispute, thanks to Argentine mediation. But a clash between Paraguayan and Bolivian forces, which took place in December, 1928, led to armed conflict which became serious by July, 1932. A declaration of war was not issued until the following year. By 1935

Paraguayan troops had occupied most of the disputed territory. Thanks to the efforts of all the other nations of this hemisphere, the dispute was finally settled by a treaty of peace and friendship signed at Buenos Aires, on July 9, 1938, dividing the disputed territory between the two countries.

Presidents and revolutions have continued to succeed each other at close intervals to the present time. In 1936 President José Luis Tejada Sórzano was overthrown, and a junta headed by Colonel David Toro assumed the government. Toro was later elected president. He announced a program of reforms which were socialistic in character, including the suppression of all monopolies, the granting of suffrage to women, the promotion of education, the adoption of social legislation, and other measures. These reforms led to a new uprising in 1937, when General Germán Busch, chief of general staff, took over the government.

On August 23, 1939, President Busch died, mysteriously shot, after quarreling with a cabinet member at a night party. On March 10, 1940, General Enrique Peñaranda de Castillo was elected to the presidency. Inaugurated the following month, he has shown since then dictatorial tendencies. There were rumors that a portion of the national army was dissatisfied and was conspiring against President Peñaranda, whose conservative principles they disliked.

Economic Development. The mineral wealth of Bolivia is notable. Precious metals are found in most parts of the republic, but their exploitation is not yet adequate, because of the lack of capital, labor, and transportation facilities. The silver, tin, copper, and bismuth mines of Bolivia are among the richest in the world. Petroleum is also produced, the total export having been in 1935 about 164,000 barrels. The value of all minerals exported by Bolivia was in 1934 over 123,000,000 bolivianos.

Rubber, cacao, and coffee are also exported. The country produces rice, wheat, and fruit for local consumption. Cattle raising is being encouraged by the government.

The recently-announced decision of commercial smelting of tin in the United States will undoubtedly result in a boom

of the tin-mining industry of Bolivia. Present production of 25,000 tons is expected to rise to some 80,000 tons. Tin is Bolivia's main export, averaging 70 per cent of the country's normal \$30,000,000 worth of exports.

There are 1,244 miles of railroads and about 1,200 miles of highways. The country is connected with neighboring lands by air services. A national company, the Lloyd Aereo Boliviano, holds the concession for air transport within the country.

Social Development. The population of Bolivia is approximately three million, of which only eight per cent are pure white. The standards of living of the masses are low and primitive, little having been done, so far, for their improvement. Most of the population live in rural communities.

Public Education. There are some 1,600 public primary schools, with an enrolment of over 87,000 students and 2,770 teachers. Secondary education is offered by 27 *liceos* or *colegios*, and the enrolment in these schools is estimated at 4,500. The University of San Andrés at La Paz, the Central University at Sucre, and the University of San Simón at Cochabamba offer professional training.

Literary and Artistic Development. Among the writers of Bolivia, the following have distinguished themselves: Benjamín Lens (1836-1878), Nesto Galindo (1830-1865), and Daniel Calvo (1832-1880)—all poets; Rosendo Villalobos (b. 1860), also a poet of note; Ricardo Jaimes Freyre, an associate of Rubén Darío and a distinguished modernist poet; Armando Chirveches, a novelist; Franz Tamayo, considered by some the greatest Bolivian poet, author of *La Prometheida*, *Nuevos rubayatas*, and *Scherzos*; and Fernando Díez de Medina, poet and essayist of note.

Among the artists, may be mentioned Cecilio Guzmán de Rojas, Arturo Reque Meruvia, Jenaro Ibáñez, Víctor Pabón, and Jorge de la Reza, all painters.

CHILE

Chile is today one of the leading nations of Latin America. The Chileans are, relatively speaking, a homogene-

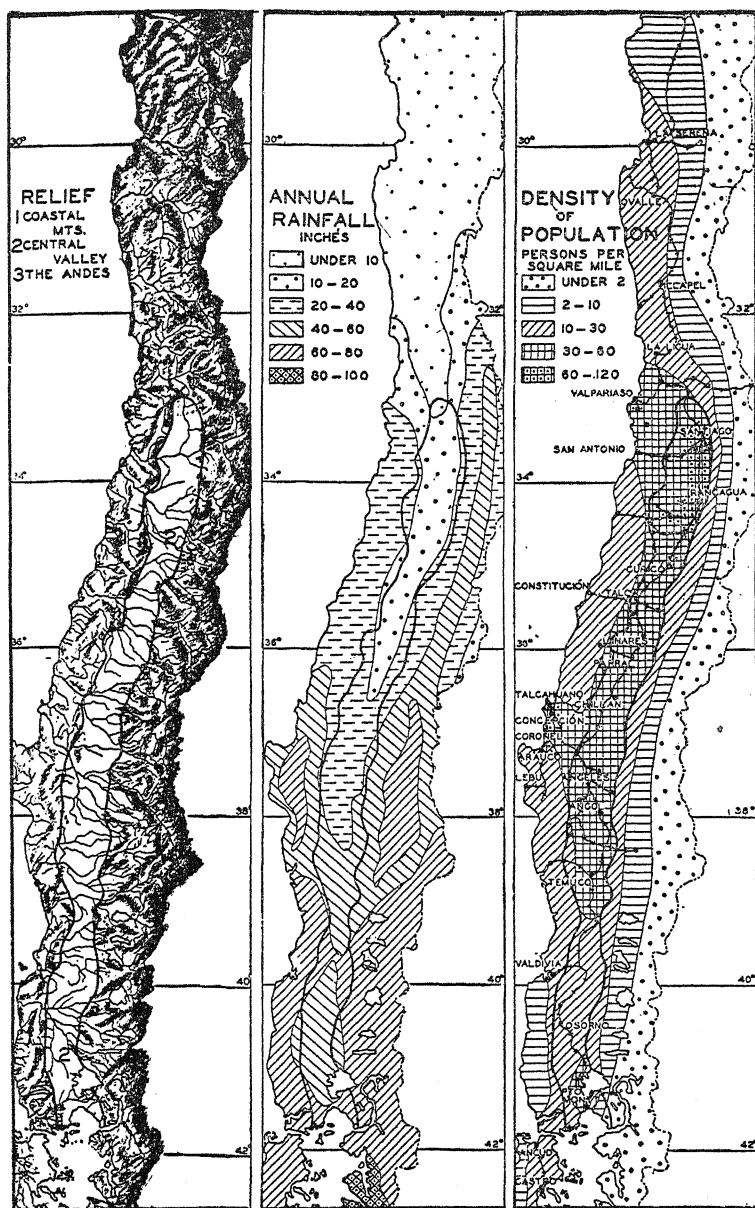


Fig. 35. Middle Chile. (Reprinted with permission from *South America* by Clarence F. Jones, published by Henry Holt and Company, New York, 1930.)

ous people, mostly of European origin, and have been shown throughout their history to possess strong and aggressive nationalistic characteristics

In a general manner, the history of Chile may be divided into four main periods. During the first period (1811-1831) the partisans of a strong and centralized government clashed with those who favored a more democratic system; in the second period (1831-1861) a highly centralized government was established under the Constitution of 1833, and Chile became a strong and well-integrated nation, from 1861 to 1891 Liberalism was in control and local government gained more freedom of action, the national congress also became increasingly more influential in national politics, finally, from 1891 to the present, democracy was gradually established, the parliamentary system was abolished, and the president lost a great deal of his power and influence in local politics

Autocratic Versus Democratic Government (1811-1831)

The first national congress of Chile met on July 4, 1811, in Santiago. Three main currents of opinion were apparent at once: that of the Moderates, who wished to bring about certain reforms but who were not opposed to the continuation of the Spanish domination, that of the Reactionaries, who wanted the restoration of royal control, and that of the Exalted or Radicals, a small group of patriots who wanted outright independence at once. Among the latter were Manuel de Sales, Bernardo O'Higgins, and Juan Martínez de Rozas.

A government junta of three was appointed by the congress. But the patriot group, wishing to bring about independence at once, revolted under the leadership of the Carrera brothers (José Miguel, Juan José, and Luis), overthrew the junta, and replaced it with a junta of their own. A new constituent congress was then called.

This congress abolished slave traffic and declared free the children born thereafter of slaves. But shortly after its inauguration, José Miguel Carrera overthrew the junta of government (of which he was not a part), and replaced it with still another one under his own presidency.

On January 1, 1818, a declaration of independence was issued by Bernardo O'Higgins, and one year after the victory of Chacabuco, on February 12, 1818, it was publicly proclaimed and sworn throughout the nation

O'Higgins as Supreme Director. Meanwhile, Bernardo O'Higgins had been made Supreme Director of the country and given dictatorial powers. At once rivalry between his party and that of the Carrera brothers developed. Two of the brothers, Juan José and Luis, attempted to overthrow O'Higgins, but failed, and took refuge in Argentina, where they were arrested and shot (April 8, 1818). The third brother, who had gone to the United States on a diplomatic mission, came back and was also shot in Argentina three years later.

O'Higgins endeavored to organize the country. He created a navy which at first was under the command of the Argentine, Manuel Blanco Encalada, and later of the British adventurer, Lord Thomas Alexander Cochrane. Education was promoted, the *cabildos* and the convents being ordered to open schools throughout the country.

The Director became unpopular because of his dictatorial tendencies, his disregard for the Catholic Church, and his attitude toward his political enemies. A constituent assembly, called by him under pressure of public opinion, drafted a constitution in 1822 granting broad powers to the executive and extending his authority for 10 years. There were several uprisings, and O'Higgins decided to resign and transferred the executive authority to a junta on January 28, 1823. Shortly afterward, he left the country and lived thereafter in Peru until his death in 1842.

The Rule of Freire. General Ramón Freire then assumed the executive office. He called a constituent assembly, which drafted a new constitution, promulgated in 1823, providing for the usual division of powers with a bicameral congress, and regulating minutely the life of the people. Slavery was abolished. Education was to be promoted by a special board. But a few months after its promulgation, this constitution was

abolished by Freire. Two other congresses were called and dissolved amidst general indignation. In 1826 Freire called still another congress and resigned.

The Congress of 1826 organized the country as a federal republic. Francisco Antonio Pinto, who as vice-president had assumed the government after Freire's resignation, abolished the federal régime and called a new constituent assembly. The constitution adopted by this assembly in 1828 embodied the most advanced liberal principles, providing for the division of powers of government, with the executive elected for five years and a bicameral legislature. Pinto was elected president under this constitution. But the Conservatives, in turn, revolted against the government under the leadership of General Joaquín Prieto and overthrew Pinto.

The Autocratic Régime (1831-1861)

At this time there appeared on the political stage of Chile a young Conservative named Diego Portales, who more than anyone else contributed to the stability of government in the country. Portales had been in business as a very young man. During the struggles between the Liberals and the Conservatives he sided with the latter and was appointed Minister of the Interior. Because of his extraordinary gifts of leadership he soon became practical dictator of Chile, exercising unusual powers granted him by the congress. Convinced that militarism was responsible for the disorder in the country, he ousted from the army all officers who had taken part in any uprising and dismissed from public office all Liberals, replacing them with members of his own party. Those who revolted against him were tried by special courts and summarily condemned to death or to exile.

The Constitution of 1833. After the country was pacified, a constituent congress met and drafted a new constitution which established the Catholic Church as the official state church, prohibited the establishment of any other church within the national territory, and organized the country under a highly centralized government. This constitution, promulgated in 1833, remained in effect, with slight changes, until 1925.

The Governments of Prieto, Bulnes, and Montt. In 1831 Joaquín Prieto became the chief executive. During his administration the financial and commercial problems of the republic received considerable attention. Manuel Rengifo, Minister of the Treasury, was responsible for the adoption of measures curtailing government expenditures, the adoption of a new tariff law, the promotion of commerce by the development of Valparaíso's port facilities, and the organization of a national merchant marine.

The commercial rivalry between Valparaíso in Chile and Callao in Peru, and fear of the creation of a strong state close to the Chilean territory, resulted in war (1836) against the Peru-Bolivian Confederation organized by General Santa Cruz.

At the outset of this war a military uprising broke out under the leadership of an army officer named José Antonio Vidaurre. Portales fell into the hands of the revolutionists and was killed by them (June 6, 1837). Thereafter the rebellion was quickly suppressed by the government.

Despite Portales' death, the war against the Confederation of Santa Cruz continued. A Chilean army landed in Peru near the port of Callao. At the same time Argentine troops invaded Bolivia. In 1838 Santa Cruz was decisively defeated and compelled to resign.

Prieto was followed by Manuel Bulnes in 1841. During his administration there was general peace and prosperity in the country. In 1843 Chile took possession of the Strait of Magellan by establishing a fortress and a settlement there. Immigration was promoted, particularly in the southern region. In 1851 the first railroad was opened in Chile. Public education received a good deal of attention, particularly under the direction of Manuel Montt, as Minister of Education. In 1842 the University of Chile was established in the capital. A steamship line was opened between the port of Valparaíso and Panama in 1840.

Antagonism to the Catholic Church resulted in the adoption of legislation allowing non-Catholics to be married outside the church and giving the government supervision over

the priesthood in Chile. The Liberal campaign for more individual freedom and democratic government resulted in the closing of several of the clubs by the government and in the exile of many Liberal leaders.

In 1851 Manuel Montt became president. During his administration the country continued to prosper. New railroads were built, savings banks were established, immigration was promoted, and many schools were opened.

The Liberals revolted against the government several times, but they were quickly suppressed. However, owing to the abolition of the rights of primogeniture and to certain laws restricting the power of the Church, many Conservatives (known as *Pelucones*) joined with the Liberals in opposition to the government, and at the next presidential elections José Joaquín Pérez, a Liberal, was elected.

Liberalism (1861-1891)

Inaugurated in 1861, Pérez showed himself conciliatory toward the Conservatives. But the Liberals were not satisfied, and the most extreme among them formed a new party, called Radical, which favored an increase of local autonomy. Gradually the municipalities received more freedom of action in local matters.

During Pérez's administration, the Araucanian Indians, who inhabited the southern region of the republic, rebelled against the authorities. It took the government troops several years to restore peace among them.

Governments from 1871 to 1891. In 1871 Federico Errázuriz Zañartu became president. He was known as a strong Liberal who was opposed to autocratic government. Adopting a strictly impartial attitude toward the presidential elections of 1880, he announced that he favored no candidate. As a result Aníbal Pinto was elected. Errázuriz was the first president of Chile who was not reelected.

During Pinto's administration the country suffered a severe economic depression due to the decrease in the production of silver and copper. Chile was also confronted by international disputes with Argentina, Peru, and Bolivia. The

quarrel with Argentina was in regard to the sovereignty over the Strait of Magellan and Patagonia. In 1881 a treaty was signed between the two governments providing for recognition of Chilean sovereignty over the Strait and of Argentine sovereignty over Patagonia.

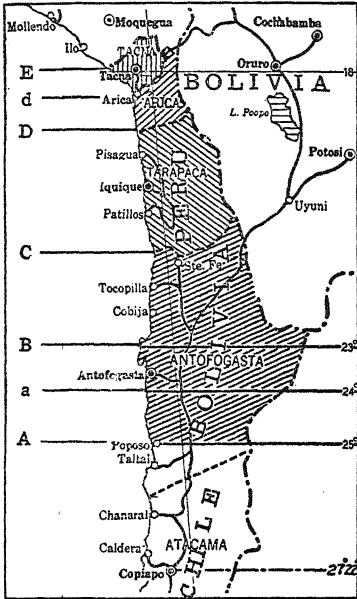


Fig. 36. Chilean Expansion Northward. A. Original Chile-Bolivian boundary; B. Claimed by Chile in 1842; a. Established by treaty in 1866, but in A-B nitrate revenues were divided equally; C. Original Peru-Bolivian boundary; D. Boundary of Chile as a result of the War of the Pacific, 1883, with D-E to be occupied by Chile ten years; d. Chile-Peruvian boundary by settlement of 1929. (Reproduced with permission from *Tacna and Arica* by W. J. Dennis, published by Yale University Press, 1931.)

The controversy with Bolivia and Peru resulted in the War of the Pacific, which lasted from 1879 to 1883. Neither the treaty with Peru, signed in 1883, nor the truce with Bolivia, signed the following year, settled definitely the disputes with those countries. However, the war increased Chile's territory by more than one third.

In 1881 Domingo Santa María became president. During his administration laws were adopted making compulsory the civil registration of marriages, births, and deaths. Burial places were taken away from the control of the Church. Antagonism between the Government and the Church was aggravated in 1883 over the appointment of the archbishop of Santiago. Legislation curtailing still more the power of the Church was adopted. At

about the same time suffrage was extended, and the powers of the executive were decreased by the congress.

José Manuel Balmaceda was the next president. Inaugurated in 1886, his administration was characterized by an increase in the public revenues and general prosperity. This permitted the government to undertake a vast program of public works, including means of communication, schools,

harbors, and public buildings. Despite general prosperity, Balmaceda ended his administration in the midst of civil war.

Quarreling with the congress over matters of policy, Balmaceda was compelled to dismiss his cabinet. But the next cabinet did not last long, and the president then appointed a new cabinet with elements from the congressional minority. Meanwhile, the congress had adjourned without appropriating money for the government expenditures during the following year. Under the circumstances, the president decided to put into effect the budget of the previous year.

A revolution broke out at once (1890). The national fleet sided with the congress. President Balmaceda was deposed by the latter, and a governing junta was created composed of Jorge Montt, Commander of the Fleet; Waldo Silva, Vice-President of the Senate; and Ramón Barros Luco, President of the Chamber of Deputies. The army remained loyal to President Balmaceda. But the government forces were defeated (battles of Concón and La Placilla in 1891), and Balmaceda transferred the executive authority to General Baquedano, took refuge in the Argentine Legation, and a few days later committed suicide.

The Democratic Régime (Since 1891)

With the defeat of Balmaceda ended the period of the presidents' predominance in Chile. Up to then, under the Constitution of 1833, the presidents had been able to intervene in local politics and control the election of members of the congress, as well as to dictate their own successors. The revolution established local autonomy and electoral freedom by the promulgation of a new law of municipalities (1891). These reforms introduced what is called by Chilean historians the parliamentary régime, under which the executive is subject to the will of the majority of the congress.

After the victory of the revolution, the congress met again and elected Jorge Montt as president. He was followed in 1896 by Federico Errázuriz, who was responsible for the peaceful settlement of the boundary dispute with Argentina.

The Boundary Dispute with Argentina. The Treaty of 1881 had provided that any dispute concerning the boundary

which might arise between the two contracting parties would be settled by arbitration. In 1898, after negotiations over the line in the Andes region, a protocol was signed submitting the question to the arbitration of the British crown, and the controversy over the boundary in Puna de Atacama was submitted to the arbitration of the United States Minister to Argentina, who at that time was William Buchanan. The latter question was settled in 1899, but the former, owing to delay in the decision, almost led to war between the two nations in 1901. The problem was solved with the signing of the Pacts of May, in 1902, providing for the arbitration of all disputes, for the limitation of armaments and equality of naval strength of the two countries, and for the neutrality of each nation in regard to the affairs involving the other on their respective sides of the continent. The boundary line in Patagonia was finally defined by the arbitral award of the king of Great Britain in 1902.

Presidents from 1901 to 1920. From 1901 to 1906 Germán Riesco was president. During his administration the treaty of peace with Bolivia was signed (1904) providing that the northern section of Antofagasta was to become Chilean territory. There were serious strikes among the workers of Valparaíso, Antofagasta, and Santiago due, in the main, to the high cost of living. The government created special committees in all provinces to promote the construction of low-priced homes for workers.

Pedro Montt was the next president. He carried out an extensive program of public works. In 1907, because of unsatisfactory living conditions among the laborers employed by the great nitrate companies, there was a strike which resulted in many bloody encounters between the workers and the police. Montt died abroad in 1910 while seeking medical assistance for his ailments. From 1910 to 1915 the country was governed by Ramón Barros Luco, and from 1915 to 1920, by Juan Luis Sanfuentes. During these two administrations new schools were built, aviation was promoted, and the national railroads became an autonomous administrative unit. Labor legislation was adopted, including compensation for labor accidents, a six-day working week, and other provisions favorable to the

workers. For the first time in the history of Chile, members of the Democratic party were appointed ministers of state

In the 1920 elections there were many conflicts and complaints. No candidate received the required majority of votes. From the two principal candidates, the congress chose one, Arturo Alessandri, and declared him elected president. Alessandri was the candidate of the Liberal Alliance, a party with a large popular backing

Alessandri's First Administration. President Alessandri was inaugurated during a period of great economic depression in Chile. This condition was due in part to the decrease in the exports of nitrates, copper, and wool, the principal export products of Chile

Alessandri's victory at the polls was resented by the Conservatives. In the senate they consistently refused to cooperate with him, and the national budget was for several years approved with a great deal of delay. Meanwhile, the economic situation became worse and the gold conversion of the currency was suspended. In 1924, as a means of increasing the government's revenues, an income tax was adopted by the congress.

General unrest was increased by attempts to raise the pay of the army and navy, and to provide a salary for members of the congress, who at that time received no material compensation for their services. New elections brought to the congress a working majority favorable to the administration, and several important laws were adopted, including one that increased the pay of the armed forces

But soon after that, conflict developed between the president and the military, who requested that the president devalue the national currency in order to alleviate the economic difficulties of the population. President Alessandri refused to do this and resigned. The congress did not accept the president's resignation. Instead, it authorized him to absent himself from the country for six months. On September 10, 1924, he left the capital and went to Europe. Meanwhile, a military junta headed by General Luis Altamirano assumed the government of the country

A few months later, however, the military junta was overthrown by army officers of the capital's garrison under the pretext that Altamirano had not carried out the reforms he had promised. A new junta was appointed, and Alessandri was invited to return at once to Chile. Arriving in Santiago on March 20, 1925, he was received with great honor and again assumed the executive office.

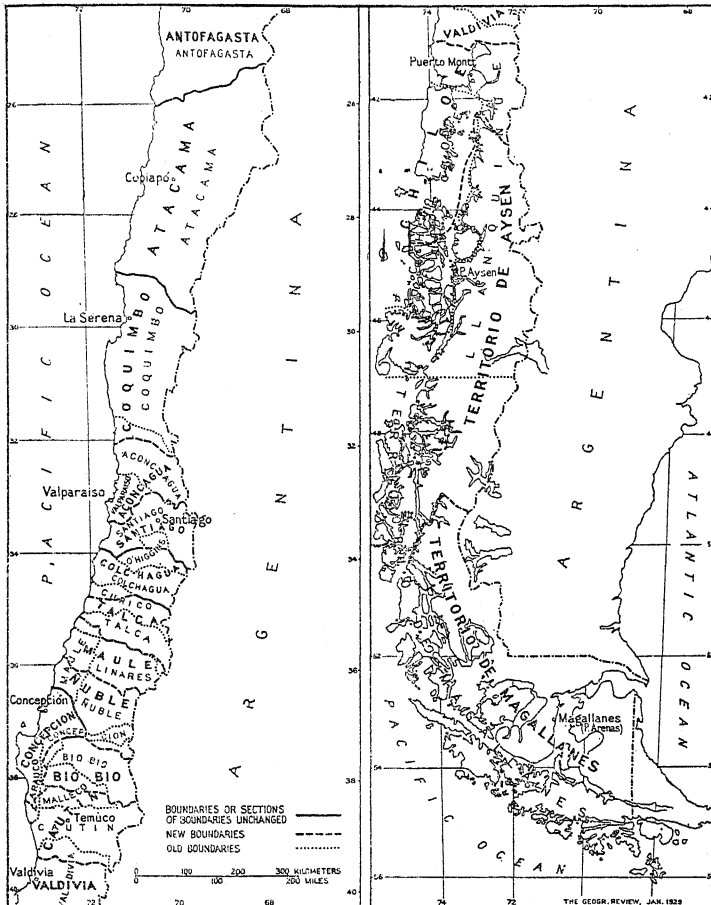


Fig. 37. The political divisions of Chile. (Courtesy of the *Geographical Review* published by the American Geographical Society of New York.)

The president then secured legislation from the congress creating a central bank and called a constituent assembly to amend the constitution.

The Constitution of 1925. The assembly adopted a constitution, which was approved by a plebiscite on August 30, 1925. This constitution provided for separation of Church and State, guaranteed complete religious liberty, declared the rights of property subject to the maintenance and progress of social order, made primary education compulsory, and provided that a member of the congress could not at the same time be a member of the president's cabinet. The president's term was increased to six years. The executive was to be elected by direct popular vote. The cabinet members were to be appointed by the president in a manner similar to that provided by the United States Constitution, thus doing away with the parliamentary system until then in effect in Chile. A new electoral law was also adopted at about the same time.

Other Governments until 1932. Because of a quarrel with the Minister of War, Colonel Carlos Ibáñez del Campo, President Alessandri resigned again and before leaving the government appointed Luis Barros Borgoño as vice-president. As such, Barros Borgoño assumed the executive office provisionally. Ibáñez also resigned from the cabinet. But the same year Emiliano Figueroa Larraín was elected to the presidency, and Ibáñez again became Minister of War. Later he was put in charge of the Ministry of the Interior and as such controlled the government with the backing of the army.

Soon afterward, President Figueroa Larraín resigned. In the elections that followed, Ibáñez, the only possible candidate, was elected by a great majority. He was inaugurated on July 21, 1927.

Once in power, Ibáñez ruled as virtual dictator, suppressing revolutionary plots with extreme severity. Despite the situation of unrest, the new president undertook a notable program of reforms. A new territorial division of the country was established, reducing the number of provinces from 23 to 16, and establishing two territories—Aysén and Magalanes. The question of Tacna and Arica was settled with Peru by the Treaty of Lima (June 3, 1929). The University of Santiago was made autonomous. Libraries and schools were established throughout the country. The government departments were reorganized with a view to curtail expendi-

tures A vast program of public works was carried into effect to alleviate the unemployment situation To solve the nitrate situation, a government controlled corporation, the *Compañía Salitrera de Chile*, or Cosach, was organized with a monopoly on exports of nitrates

Despite all these measures, the economic condition of the country became progressively worse. Foreign bankers refused to lend any more money, and the government found itself unable to continue its enormous expenditures.

There were rioting and revolutionary plots everywhere. On July 26, 1931, Ibáñez resigned, transferring the government to Pedro Opazo, President of the Senate, who in turn resigned Juan Esteban Montero, Minister of the Interior, became chief executive in provisional character at first, and later, as regularly elected president.

Inaugurated on December 4, 1931, Montero was unable to restore peace in the nation. On June 4, 1932, a military revolution broke out, the government was overthrown, and a military junta composed of General Puga, Eugenio Matte, and Carlos Dávila, assumed the executive power. One of the leaders of this revolution was Colonel Grove, who favored the establishment of a socialistic republic.

The junta dissolved the congress and decreed that the government loan bank (*caja de crédito popular*) return to their respective owners all objects of primary necessity that had been pawned. This increased the popularity of the junta for the time being. But plots and revolutions succeeded each other. Eventually, the armed forces demanded that the government be restored to those who should administer it under the constitution. On October 2, 1932, Abraham Oyanedel, President of the Supreme Court, assumed the executive. Soon after, elections were held and Arturo Alessandri was elected by a vast majority.

Alessandri and His Successors. Alessandri was inaugurated on December 24, 1932. He at once reorganized the nitrate industry, abolishing the Cosach. Measures were taken to improve conditions of agriculture and industry. New schools were opened. Public order was restored throughout

the nation. In the elections of 1938, Pedro Aguirre Cerda, the candidate of the Popular Front, a coalition of Radicals, Socialists, and Communists, was elected by a small majority. He was inaugurated on December 24, 1938. In the early part of 1940 several cabinet members resigned as a consequence of quarreling among groups forming the Popular Front coalition.

In January, 1940, a disastrous earthquake aggravated the already precarious economic condition of Chile. In August of the same year the government announced a vast industrialization plan involving the expenditure of some \$24,000,000. A loan of \$12,000,000 was expected from the U. S. Export-Import Bank.

Economic, Social and Cultural Development

Economic Development. The nitrate industry has been the source of much wealth for Chile. The nitrate zone comprises a strip of country about 450 miles in length. There is a visible supply of nitrate mineral for at least one hundred years more. Until 1930 Chile exported more than 100,000,000 tons of nitrates, and in the years from 1880 to 1929 collected nearly \$1,000,000,000 in export taxes on nitrates and iodine. The exports of this product have decreased since 1913. In 1936 Chile exported approximately 1,300,000 metric tons of nitrate to various countries. Copper is also an important product in the Chilean economy. In 1936 exports of this mineral amounted to 213,000,000 pesos of sixpence gold. In the production of copper, Chile is outranked only by the United States. About ninety per cent of the copper production of Chile is controlled by American corporations.

Coal mining has become an important industry, production in 1936 having been 1,870,000 tons. Gold, common salt, iron ore, sulphur, oil shale, manganese, cobalt, borate of lime, and silver are also mined.

Agriculture represents a large proportion of Chilean industry. The area cultivated for wheat amounts to about 800,000 hectares. The country also produces corn, rye, oats, beans, potatoes, lentils, forage crops, fruits, honey, sugar beets, tobacco, and hemp. There are over 220,500 acres of

vines, and grapes of excellent quality are exported to various countries. The pastoral industry has made great progress. Large quantities of wool are exported (9,512,100 kilos in 1936), as well as frozen mutton and other animal products. Chile is estimated to possess 2,462,730 head of cattle and 6,263,482 head of sheep, besides other domestic animals. Foodstuffs, leather, and textiles are the main Chilean manufactures.

There are over 5,600 miles of railroads, and 26,000 miles of highways in Chile. The country is well served by air lines connecting with other American countries and indirectly with Europe and other parts of the world.

Social Development. The total population of Chile was estimated at over 4,500,000 in 1937. The great majority of this population is of European origin, and over 49 per cent live in cities. The standards of living of the masses have been constantly improved. Chile is well known for its up-to-date and efficient services of public social welfare.

Public Education. There are 3,454 public primary schools, with a total enrolment of 445,486 pupils, and 891 private schools of primary level, with a registration of 96,852 students. Secondary education is provided for in 45 government *liceos* for boys and 38 for girls, besides 147 private secondary schools. The University of Chile, the University of Concepción, the *Universidad Católica de Chile* at Santiago, the *Universidad Católica* at Valparaíso, and the *Universidad Técnica Federico Santa María* offer professional and higher education facilities to the youth of the country.

Literary and Artistic Development. During its early years the literary life of Chile was dominated by the great Andrés Bello (1781-1865), a Venezuelan by birth who devoted the best part of his life to the service of education and culture in Chile. He was a man of encyclopedic mind and wrote poetry, drafted a civil code for Chile, wrote extensively on international law, education, and other subjects, and was the author of one of the best Castilian grammars in existence. Other writers of note in Chile are: José Victoriano Lastarria (1817-1888), who wrote on philosophy and politics, Miguel Luis Amunátegui (1828-1888), a historian; Benjamin Vicuña Mackenna (1831-1886) and Diego Barros Arana (1830-

1907), both historians, the latter of whom was one of the greatest in Latin America, author of a monumental work in sixteen volumes, *Historia general de Chile*, Joaquín Vallejos, who wrote on traditions and customs of Chile; Daniel Barros Grez, author of interesting novels; Alberto Blest Gana, also a novelist; Eusebio Lillo, a poet, author of the national anthem of Chile, Valentín Letelier, rector of the University of Santiago, who wrote on many subjects; Gonzalo Bulnes, author of the *Historia de la Guerra del Pacífico*, Tomás Guevara, author of *La Civilización de la Araucanía*; José Toribio Medina (1852-1930), one of the most outstanding bibliographers in the Western Hemisphere; Eduardo Barrios, a novelist and author of *El Hermano asno*; Joaquín Edwards Bello, a novelist and author of *El Roto*, *El Chileno en Madrid*, *Criollos en París*, etc.; Gabriela Mistral, a teacher and great poetess, well known throughout the world of letters; Pablo Neruda, Daniel de la Vega, Pedro Prado, Amanda Labarca, Inés Echeverría de Larraín (Iris), Elvira Santa Cruz (Roxane), and many others

Among the painters may be mentioned: Rafael Correa, Pedro Subercaseaux, and Pedro Lira; among the sculptors, Virginio Arias, Nicanor Plaza, and Rebeca Matte de Iñiguez; and among the musicians, Humberto Allende, Alfonso Leng, Enrique Sono, and Luis Sandoval.

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CHAPTER NINETEEN

THE RIVER PLATE STATES

The River Plate Basin is one of the most important centers of political, as well as economic and cultural development, of Latin America. On either side of the River Plate are to be found two leading Latin American capitals, Buenos Aires and Montevideo. The former is the third largest city in the Western Hemisphere. Further north, on the banks of the Paraguay River, an affluent of the Paraná, is Asunción, the capital of the republic of Paraguay. The history of these three states, Argentina, Uruguay, and Paraguay, has always been intimately connected, and at the time of independence they came very near to uniting into a single nation. Regional jealousies and foreign intervention, particularly in Uruguay, prevented this union from taking place.

ARGENTINA

In many ways Argentina is today one of the leading nations of Latin America. Her steady economic development, the orderliness of her political life during the last fifty years, her relative racial homogeneity, and the favorable climate of most of her territory, have contributed to the formation of a progressive people, proud of their history and conscious of their destiny.

The history of Argentina may be divided into four main periods. During the first period (1810-1820) Buenos Aires became the center of political activity and its leaders endeavored to organize the new nation, including Paraguay and Banda Oriental (Uruguay), under its sway despite the strong opposition of the provinces; after the Battle of Cepeda (1820),

when the aristocratic element of Buenos Aires was decisively defeated, and until the fall of Rosas (1852), the nation was ruled by crude and selfish *caudillos*, who often clashed with each other and with foreign powers. This resulted in general internal disorder and a succession of debilitating wars. A period of national reorganization followed (1852-1880) under the federal Constitution of 1853; and finally, with the federalization of the municipality of Buenos Aires (1880), there began a new period, during which modern Argentina, as a well-integrated and strong nation, emerged from the chaos and the turbulence of the previous years.

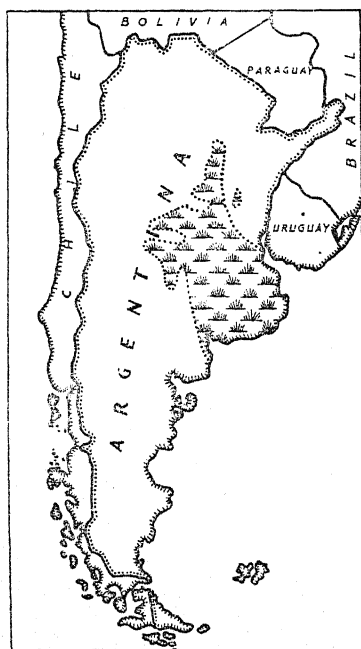


Fig. 38. The Argentine Pampa.

Federalism Versus Unitarianism (1810-1820)

With the overthrow of the Spanish authorities on May 25, 1810, and the establishment of a governing junta under the leadership of Cornelio de Saavedra, the emancipation of Argentina had its inception. But it was not until July 9, 1816, that a formal declaration of independence was issued. During the intervening years the revolution spread to other sections of the Spanish colonies in southern South America, expeditions being sent out from Buenos Aires to Upper Peru (Bolivia), Paraguay, and Uruguay (the Banda Oriental).

Attempts to Organize a Government in Buenos Aires. From the beginning the members of the Buenos Aires junta quarreled among themselves on matters of policy. The troublesome question of Federalism and Unitarianism made its appearance. On April 5 and 6, 1812, the provincial delegates demanded to be incorporated in the junta, and forced the resignation of Mariano Moreno, secretary of that body.

who was one of the most influential leaders of the Unitarian faction. The following August, the junta was replaced by a triumvirate. When the provincial delegates conspired to overthrow the triumvirate, the latter ordered them to leave the capital. An uprising took place in which the grenadiers of San Martín joined with the Masonic lodges to demand from the *cabildo* the dissolution of the triumvirate, and of the assembly as well, the appointment of a new government, and the calling of a constituent assembly within three months.

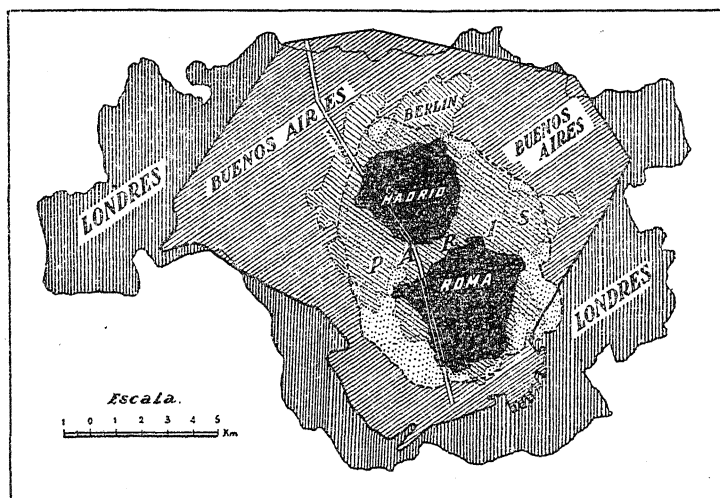


Fig. 39. Comparative areas of Buenos Aires and European capitals.
(From *Revista Geográfica Americana*, Buenos Aires.)

The *cabildo* complied with the popular requests. On January 31, 1813, an assembly met in the capital and provided for the freedom of children born of slaves after that date, abolished titles of nobility, declared the state independent from foreign religious organizations, and abolished the Indian tribute. But it did not declare national independence, nor did it adopt a constitution.

The assembly also quarreled with José Gervasio Artigas, leader of the patriots in the Banda Oriental (Uruguay), by refusing to recognize the delegates sent to represent that province. This was done because Artigas had instructed his representatives to demand provincial autonomy.

The assembly abolished the triumvirate, replacing it by a single executive under the name of "Supreme Director of the United Provinces," appointed for two years and advised by a council of state consisting of nine members. On January 31, 1814, Gervasio A. Posadas was appointed first director. Before long, he was replaced by Carlos María de Alvear.

In the meantime, Artigas had crossed the River Plate and threatened to attack Buenos Aires. When Alvear left that city at the head of an army, an uprising took place (April 15, 1815) in his absence, and the *cabildo* dissolved the assembly, deposed the directory, and created a "Junta of Observation," with the specific duty of calling a national congress to adopt a constitution.

The Tucumán Congress of 1816 and the War between the Provinces. On March 24, 1816, the national congress called by the junta met at Tucumán, with representatives from all the provinces except those siding with Artigas (Corrientes, Entre Ríos, Santa Fe, Córdoba, and Montevideo). The situation in the River Plate provinces at this moment was a difficult one. The conflict between Buenos Aires and the provinces had resulted in general anarchy. Elsewhere in Spanish America, the cause of independence seemed lost with the defeat of the patriots in Mexico, northern South America, and on the Pacific coast. The royalist forces threatened to invade the River Plate region from Upper Peru. In Spain, Ferdinand VII had returned to the throne.

The congress appointed as Supreme Director, Juan Martín Pueyrredón. At the suggestion of San Martín, Belgrano, and other leaders, and in order to raise the spirits of the people, the delegates adopted on July 9, 1816, a resolution declaring the "United Provinces of South America" independent of Spain.

After that, they discussed plans for a national organization. The monarchist element predominated in the congress. Some of the most influential leaders, including San Martín, Belgrano, Rivadavia, Alvear, and others, favored some sort of attenuated monarchy. The congress had not yet decided this fundamental question when it was adjourned to meet

again in Buenos Aires early the following year. When the congress reconvened, a committee was appointed to negotiate with Brazil a treaty of recognition incorporating the declaration that the River Plate provinces had abandoned the idea of establishing a republic, and wished to create a constitutional monarchy, possibly under a Brazilian prince. While the congress discussed what form of government to adopt, anarchy spread to the whole country

Pueyrredón, unable to restore the public order, resigned, and General José Rondeau was appointed to take his place in 1819. The new director ordered all Argentine troops, including those fighting under General San Martín on the Pacific coast, to return at once to Buenos Aires to restore public order. San Martín disregarded these orders. At the end of 1819 civil war broke out between the provinces and Buenos Aires. Francisco Ramírez, the *caudillo* of Entre Ríos, and Estanislao López, the *caudillo* of Santa Fe—instigated by the Chilean, José Miguel Carrera, and the Argentine, Carlos de Alvear—declared war against Buenos Aires, issuing a proclamation giving as their aims the removal of the despots in Buenos Aires, the restoration of the liberty of the provinces, and the suppression of the Portuguese invasion then going on in the Banda Oriental. The provinces of Córdoba, San Luis, San Juan, and Mendoza adhered to this movement. An army sent against them by Rondeau, revolted and supported the cause of the provinces; their commander, General Juan Bautista Bustos, assumed the governorship of Córdoba. Another army gathered by the director was defeated in the Battle of Cepeda (February 1, 1820). In the war of the provinces against the efforts of the aristocratic element of Buenos Aires to impose upon them its domination, the latter was decisively defeated.

Anarchy and Tyranny (1820–1852)

The Constitutional Project of 1819 and the Provincial Anarchy. Meanwhile, unable to decide what form of government to adopt, the congress of Buenos Aires issued "Provisional regulations for the direction and administration of the State." Two years later a constitution was promulgated

(April 22, 1819), providing for a centralized form of government. This constitution was at once rejected by the provinces

As a consequence of the victory of Cepeda, Ramírez and López demanded the dissolution of the Buenos Aires congress and the abolition of the directory. This was done by the *cabildo*. A few days later Manuel Sarratea was appointed governor and captain general of the Buenos Aires province. A treaty of peace was then signed by Buenos Aires and the provincial caudillos, providing that a general congress of the provinces should meet to draft a federal form of government. This treaty was rejected by the people of Buenos Aires.

The general anarchy continued. On one single day three different persons occupied the governorship of Buenos Aires. Alvear, who was backed by López and Carrera, was overthrown by Manuel Dorrego, who in turn was overthrown by Martín Rodríguez. Rodríguez signed a treaty of peace with López on November 24, 1820, providing for the calling of a general congress to meet at Córdoba.

Meanwhile, Artigas had been defeated by the Portuguese in the Banda Oriental and had crossed over to Argentina. He requested the help of the *caudillos* of Entre Ríos, Corrientes, and Misiones to continue the war against the Portuguese. Ramírez, Governor of Entre Ríos, not only refused, but turned against Artigas and with the help of López defeated him. Artigas then took refuge in Paraguay, and Ramírez, in turn, quarreled with López, who defeated and killed him.

Reforms in Buenos Aires. After peace was restored, Martín Rodríguez endeavored to reorganize the administration of Buenos Aires. Aided by Bernardino Rivadavia, one of the most capable statesmen Argentina has ever had, many reforms were undertaken. The old municipal government, the *cabildo*, was abolished; a loan was negotiated in London; and harbor facilities were built. A bank of discount was created. The army was reorganized. The Church's special courts of justice were abolished. On August 12, 1821, the University of Buenos Aires was inaugurated. Primary and

secondary education was promoted, and public welfare was fostered by a private organization, the *Sociedad de Beneficencia*, under the auspices of Rivadavia

The General Constituent Congress of 1824. On December 16, 1824, a general congress met at Buenos Aires with representatives from fourteen provinces. The congress created the executive power of the United Provinces and elected Bernardino Rivadavia first incumbent of the office. Immediately thereafter, Buenos Aires was declared the capital of the United Provinces, despite certain opposition from the inhabitants of that city, who feared the loss of their provincial autonomy

The congress also adopted a unitarian constitution on July 19, 1826. This constitution, like the previous one, was rejected by the provinces

War with Brazil. The renewed conflict between the provinces and Buenos Aires was aggravated at this time by war with Brazil. Anarchy in the Banda Oriental had resulted in an invasion of that province by Portuguese troops. Artigas and José Fructuoso Rivera, the two principal patriot leaders in Uruguay, were defeated, and on February 20, 1817, the Portuguese entered Montevideo. On July 18, 1821, a congress met in that city under the auspices of the Portuguese governor, General Carlos Frederico Lecor, and declared the Banda Oriental incorporated in the United Kingdom of Portugal, Brazil, and the Algarves, under the name of "Cisplatine Province."

The Portuguese domination in the Banda Oriental did not last long. On April 19, 1825, Juan Antonio Lavalleja and a few patriots landed there and proclaimed war against foreign domination. In August of the same year, independence was proclaimed by a congress meeting at Florida. Lavalleja was made governor, and the incorporation of that province with the United Provinces of the River Plate was approved. This incorporation was accepted by the general congress then gathered at Buenos Aires, and war broke out between Buenos Aires and Brazil as a consequence.

This war ended with the virtual destruction of the Brazilian navy by the Argentine fleet under the command of Admiral William Brown on February 10, 1827. On land, the Argentine forces gained a decisive victory at Ituzaingó on February 20 of the same year. A treaty of peace was signed on September 5, 1828, providing for the recognition of the independence of the Banda Oriental by both countries.

The Tyranny of Rosas. After the war with Brazil, the provinces and Buenos Aires continued their struggle with each other for national supremacy. Rivadavia resigned the executive office of the United Provinces in 1827. The *caudillos* became supreme in their respective provinces and made war against each other. Rivadavia was followed by Manuel Dorrego in the presidency of the Union. But in 1828 the troops returning to Buenos Aires from Banda Oriental set up one of their officers, Juan Lavalle, as chief executive. Dorrego fled the capital in December, 1828, although a few days later he was seized and executed. Then Lavalle began a war against the provinces, whose troops were led by Estanislao López. Early the following year Lavalle was hard-pressed by his enemies, and in April he was defeated.

This general disorder prepared the way for Juan Manuel de Rosas. He was born of good family in Buenos Aires on March 30, 1793. At the age of thirteen he joined the patriot troops against the British invasion of 1806. Two years later he became a rancher in the pampa. During 1820 he took part in the wars against the *caudillos* of other provinces and rose to a leading position because of his personal valor. He took part in the Buenos Aires campaign and later joined López in war against Juan Lavalle.

After the defeat of Lavalle, Juan José Viamont was made provisional governor of Buenos Aires. He immediately called a provincial assembly which elected Rosas governor and captain general. Inaugurated with broad powers, on December 8, 1829, he proceeded to rule with the enthusiastic support of the population as a whole. At the end of his term, Rosas was replaced by Juan R. Balcarce. In 1833 Rosas led an expedition against the southern Indians, during which more than 6,000 natives were killed or enslaved.

Meanwhile, Balcarce quarreled with the partisans of Rosas and was overthrown. Upon his return to Buenos Aires, Rosas was received with great honors and again elected governor of the province. After rejecting the office four times, he accepted it and was inaugurated in March, 1835, with dictatorial powers and for a term of years as long as he considered necessary to restore peace and order. This appointment was confirmed by a plebiscite at the request of Rosas.

Thus began the long rule of Rosas, which gradually developed into one of the worst tyrannies ever seen in Latin America. Rosas governed by violence. The *Mazorca*, an organization established during Balcarce's government to promote Rosas's return to the government, committed all sorts of violence against those who dared to criticize the tyrant. A literary society, called the "Salón Literario" formed by Esteban Echeverría, Juan María Gutiérrez, Juan Bautista Alberdi, Vicente Fidel López, and Miguel Cane, was dispersed by the police and its members persecuted under the pretext that they conspired against the government. As a result, some of them organized a secret society similar to the revolutionary Italian societies of that time. This society, called "Asociación de Mayo," or "Joven Argentina," promoted the return of freedom.

Many uprisings took place against the tyrant. At the same time his government was harassed by complications with foreign powers.

The Falkland (Malvinas) Islands. These islands, off the coast of Argentina, in the South Atlantic, were occupied by Spain and were claimed by Argentina after independence. In 1831 United States ships took reprisals against the local authorities because they endeavored to enforce the prohibition of fishing by foreign ships in the territorial waters of the islands. Buenos Aires requested an explanation from the government at Washington, but none was given. In 1833 a British ship landed troops on the islands, which were declared occupied by Great Britain. The government of Rosas protested, but Great Britain has continued to occupy the islands ever since.

The Quarrel with France. In 1837 Rosas sided with Chile in a war against the Peru-Bolivian Confederation created by General Santa Cruz. A French citizen residing at Buenos Aires was suspected of being a spy in the service of Santa Cruz and was imprisoned. When he died a short while afterward, the French consul demanded redress in such terms that Rosas expelled him from Buenos Aires. A French fleet then blockaded the River Plate, and at the same time French agents negotiated with Rivera and Lavalle in Uruguay, furnishing them help in their war against Rosas. The difficulties with France ended with an agreement signed between Rosas and French representatives on October 29, 1840, whereby Rosas recognized the French claims.

The Dispute with Chile. In 1847 a dispute arose with Chile, when that country occupied the Strait of Magellan. Rosas protested, claiming that during colonial days the Strait had been under the jurisdiction of Buenos Aires. Chile refused to recognize the Argentine rights to that region. The question was not settled until 1902, as pointed out in the chapter on Chile.

The Quarrel with Paraguay. At the same time Rosas quarreled with Carlos Antonio López, the ruler of Paraguay, because of alleged help furnished to Corrientes when that province had revolted against him. Commerce between Buenos Aires and Paraguay was prohibited by Rosas.

The "Great War" and the Fall of Rosas. Rosas nursed the plan of annexing Uruguay to Buenos Aires, partly to prevent it from continuing to be a basis of supply for his enemies. In the civil war then raging in the Banda Oriental, Rosas sided with Manuel Oribe, one of the leaders of the *Blanco* party. In 1842 Oribe at the head of an Argentine army laid siege to Montevideo. Despite the protests from Great Britain, France, and Brazil, Rosas ordered the port of Montevideo blockaded by the Argentine fleet under the command of Admiral Brown.

The difficulties of Rosas were increased at this time by the declaration of General Justo José de Urquiza, Governor of Entre Ríos, inviting the other provinces to join him in

war against Rosas (May 25, 1851) The legislature of Entre Ríos passed a law accepting the resignation of Rosas as director of foreign relations of the United Provinces, a position for which he had been elected under the Treaty of 1831 and which Rosas had no intention of giving up. A few days later, a treaty against Rosas was signed in Montevideo between Urquiza, the Uruguayan patriots of the *Colorado* party, the province of Corrientes, and representatives of Brazil

Urquiza then crossed to the Banda Oriental and compelled Oribe to raise the siege of Montevideo, which had lasted for nearly nine years. Returning to Argentina at the head of an army of some 30,000 men, Urquiza defeated the forces of Rosas decisively on February 3, 1852, in the Battle of Monte Caseros Rosas then resigned and left Argentina with his daughter on board a British ship. He died in Southampton on May 14, 1877

National Reorganization (1852–1880)

General Urquiza, immediately after the Battle of Monte Caseros, devoted himself to organizing the nation on a stable basis At a meeting of the provincial governors held in San Nicolás, an agreement was signed on May 31, 1852, renewing the Federal Pact of 1831 and providing for the calling of a federal congress to draft a constitution. Urquiza was also granted broad powers to restore order anywhere within the nation.

This agreement was not well received in Buenos Aires, and the provincial legislature refused to ratify it On September 11, Buenos Aires arose in arms against Urquiza, who was unable to subdue it. The province adopted a constitution of its own on April 12, 1854.

The Federal Constitution of 1853 of the United Provinces. On November 20, 1852, a constituent congress with delegates from the thirteen outlying provinces met at Santa Fe, as agreed upon at San Nicolás. A treatise on the political conditions of the nation was at this time circulated among the delegates. Written by Juan Bautista Alberdi, one of the most distinguished political thinkers of his time, it studied in detail the basis for the political organization of the nation

On May 1, 1853, a constitution was adopted, which was promulgated by General Urquiza on the 25th of the same month. It recognized the provincial autonomy to a certain extent, but organized at the same time a strong central government. The executive was to be elected for six years indirectly by an electoral college. The congress was to be bicameral.

Under this constitution Urquiza was elected first president. During his administration treaties were signed with Great Britain, the United States, and France, opening the Paraná and Uruguay rivers to the navigation of the world. Public education was promoted. The University of Córdoba was nationalized. Immigration was fostered, and in 1855 the first European families arrived and settled in Corrientes. The survey for a railroad connecting Rosario with Córdoba was begun in 1854, and the Transandine railway project was approved the following year.

Buenos Aires Joins the Confederation. The separation of Buenos Aires from the Confederation was only transitory. In 1854 and 1855 treaties of peace and commerce were signed between the Confederation and that province. But owing to economic and financial difficulties, the Confederation adopted, in 1856, a law establishing certain duties on foreign goods introduced into the provinces through the port of Buenos Aires. This law was interpreted by the people of Buenos Aires as a menace to their economic dominance, and in 1859 they took reprisals.

The Paraná Congress then authorized Urquiza to force the annexation of Buenos Aires to the Confederation. Buenos Aires prepared for war by appointing General Bartolomé Mitre commander of her troops. At Cepeda, on October 23, 1859, Mitre was defeated. An agreement was then signed on November 11, 1859, incorporating Buenos Aires in the Confederation, under the condition that within twenty days a provincial congress would meet in Buenos Aires to propose any amendments to the Constitution of 1853 that it might consider necessary.

The following year the delegates from Buenos Aires to the national congress were refused recognition because they

had not been elected in accordance with the electoral provisions of the Constitution of 1853. Buenos Aires resented this and declared the Treaty of 1859 abrogated

In consequence, war broke out again between Buenos Aires and the Confederation. But at the Battle of Pavón, on September 17, 1861, General Mitre remained in control of the field. As a consequence, the national congress appointed Mitre provisional president of the Confederation, now for the first time a united nation.

Mitre's Administration. The first question taken up by the congress was that of the national capital. A law was adopted providing for the federalization of the entire province of Buenos Aires, but that province refused to give its consent to this move. Eventually a "Law of Compromise" was adopted, establishing the capital of the Confederation in Buenos Aires for five years. On October 5, General Mitre was elected president of Argentina.

Mitre's administration was characterized by many progressive reforms and general progress in education, foreign relations, and commerce. But the Paraguayan War, which broke out at this time, prevented further development

The Paraguayan War. The relations between Argentina and Paraguay had not been friendly for many years. In 1842 Rosas had refused to recognize Paraguayan independence, and in retaliation President Carlos Antonio López had given help to the province of Corrientes, then in revolt against Rosas. The Argentine tyrant in turn prohibited all commerce with Paraguay. In 1849 Paraguayan troops occupied the territory of Misiones, and the Buenos Aires legislature authorized Rosas to bring about the annexation of Paraguay to the Argentine Confederation. During the war against Rosas, Paraguay sided with his enemies.

When the Confederation established its capital at Paraná, after the downfall of Rosas, the independence of Paraguay was recognized. In 1862 Carlos Antonio López died, and his son, Francisco Solano, assumed the executive office in Paraguay. That country had by then accumulated a substantial war chest and it possessed a large and well trained army. Its

defences had been improved. Flushed with pride and ambition, Francisco López entertained dreams of becoming the ruler of an extensive empire in the heart of South America.

When Brazilian troops, in 1864, invaded Uruguay in an effort to restore order in that country, Francisco López immediately protested and broke off diplomatic relations with Brazil. A Paraguayan army invaded the Brazilian province of Matto Grosso. In January, 1865, López requested from Argentina permission to cross the province of Corrientes to attack the Brazilian province of Rio Grande do Sul. President Mitre refused, and López at once declared war against Argentina.

On May 1, 1865, a treaty of alliance was signed at Buenos Aires between Argentina, Uruguay, and Brazil against López of Paraguay. General Mitre was made the commander-in-chief of the allied armies.

The war lasted longer than was expected. After forcing the pass of Humaitá in 1868, the allied forces compelled López to evacuate most of the fortifications and to withdraw toward the north. On January 2, 1869, the allied troops entered Asunción. On March 1, 1870, López was killed near Aquidabán, and the following June peace was signed between the allies and a provisional government set up at Asunción. The boundary question between Paraguay and Argentina was settled in a treaty signed six years later.

Mitre's *Testamento Político*. The presidential election of 1868 was hotly contested. President Mitre had the strength of character to remain neutral, declaring in a letter to a friend, since then known as his "*Testamento Político*," that in his opinion the executive should not influence the election of his successor.

Domingo Faustino Sarmiento was elected president and inaugurated on October 12, 1868. Sarmiento was a sociologist, educator, and statesman of great ability. During his administration public education was promoted with enthusiasm, new railroads were built, and immigration was favored. The negotiations of peace, after the Paraguayan War, resulted in some ill feeling between Argentina and Brazil. These

difficulties disappeared with the visit, in 1872, of General Mitre to Rio de Janeiro. The treaties of peace and limits with Paraguay were signed by Argentina in 1876.

After Sarmiento's term of office expired, Nicolás Avelaneda assumed the executive office. His administration was disturbed by a revolution which broke out under the leadership of General Mitre. This uprising was a protest against the custom, followed generally by the executive, of influencing the election of his successor. The revolution was suppressed by the government forces.

Buenos Aires Becomes the National Capital. In 1880 Carlos Tejedor, a candidate to the presidency, rose against the government in the province of Buenos Aires to defend the autonomy of that province from the encroachments of the national government. The capital was transferred temporarily to Belgrano. The revolution was quickly suppressed. After that, the congress, on September 20, 1880, adopted a law federalizing the municipality of Buenos Aires, which became the capital of the nation. With this act the national organization of Argentina was at last accomplished.

Argentina Since 1880

Roca and his Successors. In 1880 General Julio A. Roca, who had distinguished himself in a campaign against the southern Indians, became president. Roca sent new expeditions against the Indians, gaining considerable territory for settlement and cultivation. Foreign trade increased very rapidly, its total amount almost doubling between 1880 and 1886. The railways increased more than 100 per cent, and immigration, which in 1880 was 41,561, became about 108,000 in 1885. During the six year term of Roca, 483,000 immigrants settled in Argentina.

The next president was Juárez Celman, who triumphed at the polls in 1886 with the backing of the administration. At once a severe financial and economic crisis developed in the country owing to over expansion during the previous years. A new party, the *Unión Cívica*, was formed, and about the middle of 1890 its members rose in rebellion against the

government in the capital. Although defeated by the government troops, President Celman felt compelled to resign. He was replaced by the vice-president, Carlos Pellegrini. The economic situation did not improve, and the government had to resort to the issue of paper money in order to be able to pay its own debts. The public lost confidence in the banks, and both the national bank and the provincial bank of Buenos Aires were closed, with a considerable loss to their depositors. The government endeavored to remedy the situation by creating a new bank, the *Banco de la Nación*, on December 1, 1891.

In 1892 Luis Sáenz Peña was elected president by a coalition of the *Unión Cívica* and the National party. His administration was characterized by general unrest. During the first nine months of his term there were twenty-three different cabinets. Radical agitation in the provinces became alarming, and the central government was compelled to intervene in several of them to restore public order. President Sáenz Peña, feeling unable to cope with the situation, resigned and was replaced by the vice-president, Dr. José Evaristo Uriburu, in 1895.

During Uriburu's administration a national convention met in 1898 and amended the constitution, increasing the national representation in the congress and reorganizing the ministries, the number of which was increased to eight. In 1898 General Roca was again elected to the presidency. A labor code was adopted. At this time Argentina expounded through her Minister of Foreign Affairs, Luis M. Drago, the doctrine since known as the "Drago Doctrine," whereby debts of states were not to be collected by force of arms. In 1899 the currency was stabilized by the guarantee of its conversion in gold at a fixed rate. In 1902, during President Roca's second administration, the amicable settlement of the boundary dispute with Chile took place.

In 1904 Dr. Manuel Quintana became president. The following year a radical revolution broke out which was suppressed by the government with difficulty. The president died in 1906, and the vice-president, Dr. Figueroa Alcorta, assumed the executive office. He restored peace, promoted public education, and established the first rural schools in Argentina.

In 1912 Roque Sáenz Peña was elected to the presidency. During his administration the electoral laws were reformed in order to allow greater participation of the people at large. The secret ballot was adopted, and voting became compulsory. Because of ill health, the president was replaced by the vice-president, Victorino de la Plaza. With the outbreak of the World War, Argentina's exports were curtailed, unemployment increased, and a severe economic and financial depression was felt throughout the country.

Radical Administrations. As a result of the adoption of the new electoral laws, the Radicals won the presidential election of 1916, and Hipólito Irigoyen became president. Argentina remained neutral during the World War. Public education was promoted by the new president, more than 1,000 new schools being opened throughout the nation. The universities were reformed. Social legislation was enacted in favor of the working classes.

In 1922 another Radical, Marcelo T. Alvear, was elected to the presidency. Six years later Irigoyen returned to the executive chair, but not for a long time. The Conservatives revolted. An attempt was made to assassinate the president on December 24, 1929. One year later the situation was aggravated by labor strikes and rioting in the capital. On September 5, 1930, President Irigoyen resigned, was arrested, and the following day, General José Félix Uriburu, a Conservative leader, assumed the executive power. He ruled as dictator, arresting many members of the Radical and Socialist parties, and exiling many others.

Uriburu, who had assumed the presidency in provisional character, delayed the elections as much as possible. Forced by public opinion, he ordered the elections held, however, on November 8, 1931. The National Democrats and the anti-Irigoyen Radicals merged and elected General Agustín B. Justo.

Although civil liberties were restored by President Justo, who was inaugurated on February 20, 1932, several members of the Radical party, including Irigoyen and Alvear, were exiled. President Justo endeavored to steer clear from both the Fascist and Socialist factions, but ruled dictatorially and

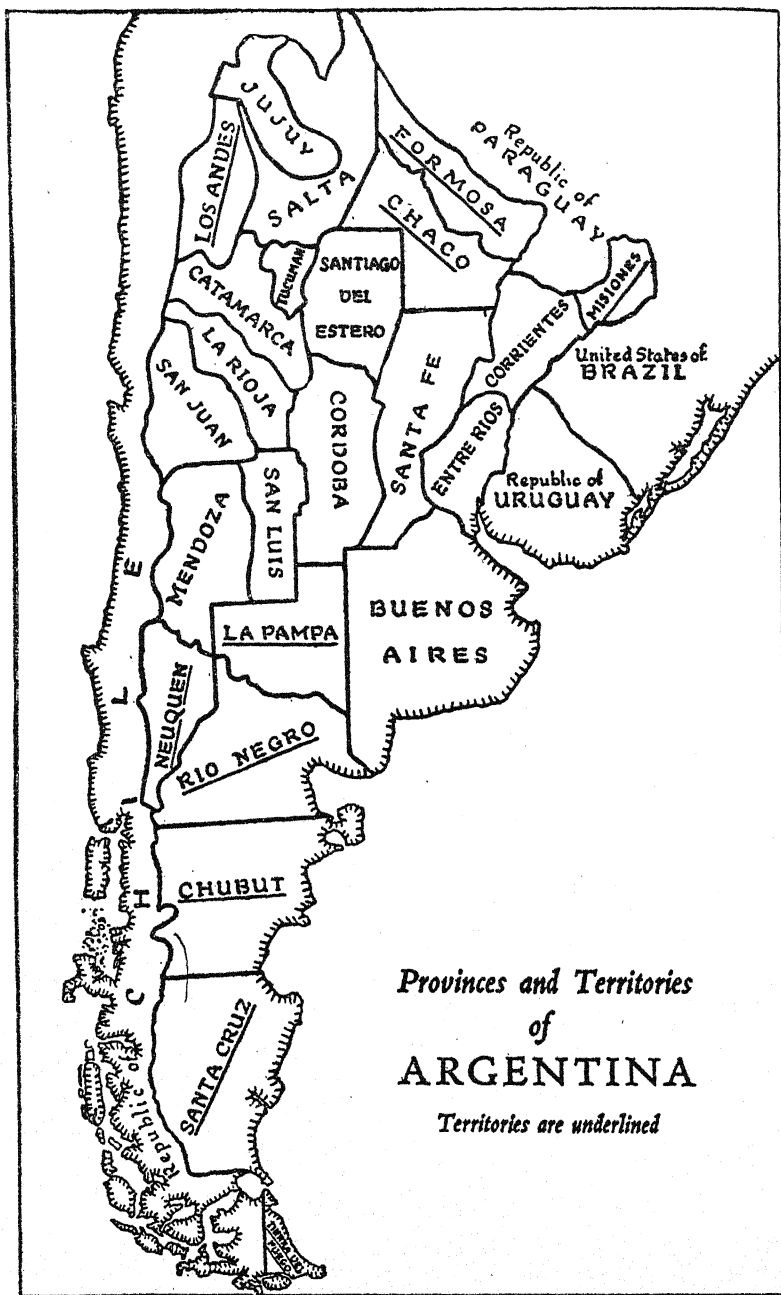


Fig. 40. Provinces and Territories of Argentina. (Reproduced with permission from *South American Handbook*, published annually by Trade & Travel Publications, Ltd., London, England.)

interfered in the elections and general politics of the provinces. In the congressional elections of 1936 the Radicals won a majority representation, despite the administration's interference. A Popular Front was organized in opposition to the Fascist groupings.

In 1937 Roberto M. Ortiz was elected president. He was inaugurated on February 20, 1938. Poor agricultural conditions and a 40 per cent decline in exports were reflected in diminishing government revenues and poor business conditions throughout the whole country. This situation was aggravated by the new European War. President Ortiz refused to devalue the currency, as some suggested, and instead cut down all government expenditures. Barter agreements with Italy and Germany reduced wheat surplus, held mostly by the government. Agreements with Spain and Great Britain also tended to improve general economic conditions.

In July, 1940, President Ortiz, who had been ill for some time suffering from diabetes, took sick leave. The presidency was occupied by Vice-President Ramón Castillo, a strong Conservative leader who proceeded to undermine President Ortiz's influence in the government. To avert a Cabinet crisis President Ortiz resumed his duties in August.

The United States Export-Import Bank granted to Argentina a loan of \$50,000,000 in 1940 to be used in the stabilization of the exchange situation.

Social, Economic, and Cultural Development

Economic Development. Agriculture is Argentina's principal source of wealth. Nearly one-half of the Plata Basin (1,500,000 square miles) belongs to Argentina. From two-thirds to three-fourths of this area is an alluvial plane, extending from the Pilcomayo River on the north to the Río Negro on the south. This territory of about 600,000 square miles is the great agricultural region of Argentina. There are between sixty and sixty-five million acres under cultivation, devoted to the raising of cereals, linseed, alfalfa, and other products.

Meat packing and dairying have expanded considerably. According to the census of 1930, there are over thirty-two million head of cattle, over forty-four million head of sheep, nearly ten million horses, and nine million other domestic animals. Since 1877, when the first cargo of Argentine frozen beef was exported to Europe, this industry has grown to constitute one of the most important of the republic. There are about 150 different companies engaged in slaughtering, canning, preparing, or otherwise operating in the meat industry. The country has some three million milch cows, and about twenty-four thousand tons of butter are produced every year. Sugar cane is grown in the northern provinces. Approximately 670,000,000 liters of wine are produced yearly.

The mining industry is of some importance. Borate of lime, onyx, mica, wolframite, salt, and plaster are exported. Gold, silver, petroleum, and copper are also produced to some extent. There are about seventeen oil refineries in the country. The chief forest industry of Argentina is the production of quebracho extract and the shipment of quebracho logs.

Besides many navigable rivers, Argentina has 25,550 miles of railroads connecting the various regions with each other and with neighboring countries, and over 180,000 miles of highways of all types. The country is well served by air lines.

Social Development. The population of Argentina was estimated at 12,372,965 in 1935. The people are almost entirely of European origin, the Spanish and Italian stocks predominating. Standards of living are comparatively high, particularly in the capital, Buenos Aires, a city of some 2,300,000 inhabitants, and one of the finest urban centers of the Western Hemisphere. The public welfare and education have received the close attention of the government authorities in recent years. Labor legislation of the most advanced type has been enacted.

Public Education. Argentina has nearly 12,000 public primary schools, with 60,000 teachers and an enrolment of 1,704,000 pupils. There are 53 secondary schools, with an enrolment of over 31,000 students. The government maintains 73 normal schools, with an enrolment of 16,000 students. Be-

sides several professional and technical schools, the universities of Buenos Aires, La Plata, the Litoral, and Tucumán, and the Catholic University (privately supported), offer opportunities for higher education.

Literary and Artistic Development. Among the writers of early years three distinguished themselves: Vicent F. López (1815-1903), a poet and author of the national anthem; Esteban de Luca, also a poet who sang of the revolution; and Juan Cruz Varela (1794-1839), who celebrated the liberal reforms of Rivadavia's time. During the tyrannic period of Rosas, there appeared a brilliant group of writers. Among them were: Esteban Echeverría (1805-1851), sociologist, historian, poet, and one of the greatest prose writers of Argentina—the author of *Profecía del plata*, *Elvira*, and *La Cautiva*; José Rivera Indarte (1814-1844), a poet; José Marmol (1818-1871), who wrote *Cantos del Peregrino* and the novel *Amalia*, which is popular even today; Juan María Gutiérrez (1809-1878), a poet and a historian of great merit; Olegario V. Andrade (1841-1882), an inspired nationalist poet, Estanislás del Campo (1834-1880), author of *Fausto*; José Hernández (1834-1886), author of the immortal poem *Martín Fierro*, the most famous of all poems of the gaucho type in Argentina; Domingo Faustino Sarmiento (1811-1888), a statesman, educator, poet, and prose writer—the author of *Facundo*, a socio-political biography of the lieutenants of Rosas; Bartolomé Mitre (1821-1906), a poet, journalist, and one of the leading historians of Latin America. Other important writers are. Rafael Obligado (1851-1920), who wrote the very popular poem *Santos Vega*, celebrating the legendary gaucho hero and popular poet of that name; V. Pedro Palacios (Almafuerte) (1854-1914), a great poet of biblical inspiration; Rubén Darío (1867-1916), born in Nicaragua but a resident of Buenos Aires for many years—author of *Azul* and other notable books of poems, and founder of the modernist school in Latin America; Leopoldo Lugones (1874-1938), one of the greatest poets of all Latin America, author of *Lunario sentimental*, *romancero*, and other works both in verse and in prose; Carlos Octavio Bunge (1875-1918), an essayist; José Ingenieros (d. 1925), a poet, journalist, sociologist, and one of the great intellectual leaders of Latin America, Manuel Ugarte (b 1878), a writer

who has had a great influence upon the youth of various Latin American countries because of his criticism of the United States; Manuel Gálvez (b. 1882), a novelist of great popularity—author of *La maestra normal*, *La sombra del Convento*, and many other books; Enrique Larreta (b. 1875), author of the well-known novel, *La Gloria de Don Ramiro*, depicting life in Spain, and of *Zagoibi*, about life in Argentina; Benito Lynch (b. 1885), author of *El Inglés de los güesos*, a novel of great merit and of several others; Hugo Wast (whose real name is Gustavo Martínez Zuviría) (b. 1883), author of many popular novels; Ricardo Güiraldes (1886-1927), author of one of the best known novels of the pampa, *Don Segundo Sombra*; Alfonsina Storni and Luisa Luisi, poetesses, Ricardo Levene (b. 1886), Emilio Ravignani (b. 1886), Enrique de Gandía (b. 1906), historians; Ricardo Rojas (b. 1882), historian, poet, and dramatist.

Argentina has had many painters of merit, including Gramajo Gutiérrez, A. Ballerini, Cupertino del Campo, Ernesto de la Cárcova, Jorge Mermudez, Pablo Tosto, and Eduardo Sívori; and sculptors, among whom are Rogelio Iruirtia, Francisco Caffareta, and Troiano Troiani.

PARAGUAY

Among all the Latin American nations, Paraguay has had, undoubtedly, one of the most unfortunate historical evolutions. The mass of the people are of Indian blood, belonging to the Guaraní stock, which in pre-Colombian days occupied a vast region in southern South America. They are a warlike people. Today the Guaraní language is still spoken by most Paraguayans, and Spanish is habitually spoken only by the very small educated class. The government of the country has been always in the hands of dictators. Some of these dictators have ruled in the most tyrannical manner for long periods, such as Francia (1814-1840), and the two López, father and son, (1845-1870); others have lasted for shorter periods. The country has had to fight two long and bloody wars, the Paraguayan War (1865-1870), which reduced the population of Paraguay to less than half, and the Chaco War (1932-1935), during which Paraguay alone lost some thirty or forty thousand men.

The history of Paraguay may be, roughly speaking, divided into four main periods. From 1811 to 1814 an independent government was established; from 1814 to 1840, Francia ruled as absolute dictator; after a few years of chaos, a new dictator, the elder López, took over the government. His rule lasted from 1844 to 1862, and was followed by that of his son, Francisco López, which lasted until 1870. Since then the country has been governed by lesser dictators

National Organization (1811-1814)

After the revolution of May 14, 1811, a congress met at Asunción and appointed a governing junta of five members under the presidency of Fulgencio Yegros. An alliance with the Buenos Aires patriots was also decided upon, with the condition that the Paraguayan independence be recognized.

These resolutions of the congress were communicated to the Buenos Aires government. The latter appointed Manuel Belgrano and Vicente Anastasio de Echeverría commissioners to negotiate the annexation of Paraguay to Buenos Aires. Failing to bring this about, Belgrano and Echeverría, on October 12, 1811, signed a treaty of alliance with Paraguay, guaranteeing the latter's independence.

The junta's efforts to organize the country were hindered from the beginning by the interference of army officers. José Gaspar Rodríguez Francia, one of the leading members of the junta, resigned as a protest against this interference. Later, however, he was persuaded to resume his duties in the junta. Several royalist plots were discovered and suppressed. But Francia and the other members of the junta quarreled with each other on the matter of whether a new congress should be called. Francia favored such an action, whereas the other members opposed it for fear of new disturbances.

Quarrel with Buenos Aires. At this time a quarrel developed between the Paraguayan junta and the government of Buenos Aires over the interpretation of the treaty of alliance signed in 1811. Buenos Aires requested the help of Paraguay in the war against the royalists; this help the government of Asunción refused to give. On the other hand, Paraguay was lending help to José Gervasio Artigas, the

Uruguayan *caudillo*, in the latter's attempt to establish an independent state in the Banda Oriental. Early in 1813 this quarrel resulted in a break of the diplomatic relations between Asunción and Buenos Aires. Nevertheless, the Paraguayan government insisted upon sending delegates to the general assembly of the Plata provinces then meeting at Buenos Aires.

The Constitution of 1813. A congress met in the latter part of 1813 in Asunción and adopted a constitution, which was drafted in the main by Francia. This instrument of government, called the *Reglamento de Gobierno*, provided for a government of two consuls who were to alternate each other in the exercise of the powers of government. The command of the national army was divided between the two consuls. Francia and Yegros were elected first consuls, the former to rule during the first four months' term.

This congress also affirmed the absolute independence of Paraguay from Spain and all other countries. The alliance with Buenos Aires was abrogated.

The First Consulate. The two consuls reformed the administration, endeavored to establish commercial relations with Europe, reorganized the army, and took measures against the clergy's corruption, then very prevalent in Paraguay. Laws were also adopted against the Spaniards living in Paraguay. Their marriage with Paraguayan white women was prohibited, but they were allowed to marry Indian or Negro women.

Francia as Dictator (1814–1840)

When another congress met in October, 1814, Francia secured the adoption of a law providing for the appointment of only one executive, instead of the two consuls. The congress then appointed Francia dictator for five years.

Francia has been pictured as a bloody heartless despot. As a matter of fact very little is known about him today. There is no doubt, however, that as a dictator he ruled the country with an iron hand and kept the state from the contemporary difficulties and perpetual revolutions of the other Latin American states. He considered himself above all persons and expected reverence from all. His country he con-

sidered also above all others, and in consequence he cut all communication with the rest of the world.

Once in power, Francia devoted himself to consolidating his control of the government. He reorganized the administration and increased the national defenses. He also prohibited the export of gold and silver coin and bullion, and increased the import duties. Commerce with Brazil was authorized only at certain ports. The exports of lumber became a government monopoly. Means of communication were improved, and agriculture was fostered. The religious communities were declared independent of outside organizations, and the Inquisition was suppressed.

On June 1, 1816, Francia was appointed dictator for life. The national congress was to meet only when the dictator considered it necessary.

As absolute ruler of Paraguay, Francia prohibited all public gatherings, except at certain specified religious feast days; restored the defenses against the wild Indians; cultivated friendly relations with Brazil; severely punished dishonesty in public service; and instituted strict economy in all government expenditures. He also assumed the right to approve all Church appointments, abolished the monastic orders, allowing the secularization of the friars, and confiscated the property of the monasteries. All marriages celebrated without his special permission were declared without legal effect.

Francia developed tyrannical tendencies, punishing all criticism of his rule with imprisonment or death. In 1820 a serious conspiracy was discovered. Several prominent persons involved, including former consul Yegros, were either shot, imprisoned, or exiled, and their property was confiscated by the government.

Fearing new conspiracies in which the Spaniards living in the country might participate, Francia imprisoned many of them and did not allow them to return to their homes until they paid a heavy fine.

Foreign Relations. In 1820 Francia quarreled with the Portuguese of Brazil, claiming that they had instigated the Indians to attack Paraguayan settlements. Trade with Brazil

was prohibited. In 1824 he received a diplomatic representative of Brazil; but since his claims as a result of the Indian depredations were not recognized, he again broke off relations with Brazil, prohibiting once more all commerce with that country.

Later, trade with Brazil was permitted through Itapua, the dictator personally supervising all trade, approving prices, establishing duties to be paid, and specifying all the details. Traders who went to Itapua needed a special license from the dictator. Commerce was carried on through barter, no money being allowed to leave the country.

No foreigner was allowed to enter the country; those who went to Paraguay despite this prohibition were not allowed to leave. Gradually Paraguay became a hermit nation.

The End of Francia's Régime. On September 20, 1840, Francia died at the age of seventy-four, without having made any arrangement as to the matters of government. His rule was beneficial in many respects. He was honest, a good administrator, defended the country from foreign encroachments, promoted agriculture, and maintained internal peace. But his cruelty, despotism, and suspicion showed an unbalanced personality.

After Francia's death, Policarpo Patiño, his secretary, endeavored to assume the government of the country. A military revolution took place the same day, and a junta of government was appointed. A few days later a meeting of the municipal council was called. Manuel Antonio Ortiz was chosen president to govern the country with the help of four other members of the junta. No other changes were made in the government as established under Francia. Patiño was chosen first secretary of the junta, but later he was ousted and thrown into prison, where he committed suicide.

The junta was not well received by the public. On January 22, 1841, a military revolution deposed it. A general congress was then called to draft a new constitution and to elect a government. This congress was to meet on April 19 of the same year; but a new revolution headed by Carlos Antonio López and Mariano Roque Alonso called the congress to meet on March 12 instead.

The Restoration of the Consulate. On the appointed date the congress met at Asunción under the presidency of López. The consulate was restored, with López and Roque Alonso as consuls to govern the country jointly. The *cabildo* of the capital was reestablished.

The two consuls at once freed all political prisoners, restored relations with the outside world; signed a treaty of friendship, commerce, and navigation, and another of limits with the Argentine province of Corrientes; and took measures promoting public education, establishing a secondary school in the capital, restoring relations with the papacy, and freeing the children of slaves born thereafter. On November 26, 1842, the congress reaffirmed the declaration of independence of Paraguay.

The Dictatorships of the López Family (1844–1870)

The Congress of 1844. On March 13, 1844, another congress met in the capital and approved a new constitution providing for a republican form of government, with the usual division of powers, the president to be elected for ten years with broad functions. A council of state, appointed by the president, was to advise him on important matters. The following day López was made first president of the republic.

The congress also authorized the sending of six young Paraguayans to study abroad at the expense of the government, and the bringing of foreign professors of medicine to Paraguay. Several foreign nations recognized the new government because in great measure, of the good offices of Brazil.

López Administration. One of the first acts of López was to create an official newspaper. He promoted friendly relations with foreign countries; improved the national defenses fearing an attack from Rosas, then ruling in Buenos Aires; abolished the Indian communities, a heritage from colonial times; and in general promoted the economic development of the country.

On December 25, 1850, López signed with Brazil a treaty under which the territory in dispute between the two countries was to be evacuated by the citizens of both parties until settlement of the boundary took place.

Paraguay sided with Brazil and Uruguay against Rosas, the dictator of Buenos Aires, in 1851, and after the fall of the tyrant, Paraguayan independence was recognized in a treaty signed by the United Provinces and López on July 15, 1852. During the same year agents of France and the United States arrived at Asunción and signed treaties of friendship, commerce, and navigation with the Paraguayan government. López sent his son, Francisco Solano, to Europe as diplomatic representative to various courts.

In 1854 the congress met and reëlected López for another term of ten years, adopting also slight changes in the constitution so as to permit the president to appoint the vice-president and to reduce the number of national representatives in the congress. López accepted the reelection only for three years.

International Complications. At this time the relations of Paraguay with the United States were strained by the complaints of an American citizen named Edward A. Hopkins, who was consul in Asunción and whose exequatur López annulled after a quarrel with him. The question was aggravated by an incident with the *Water Witch*, an American vessel visiting the River Plate at the time with a scientific expedition. The commander of the vessel sided with Hopkins against López. He also attempted to force the entrance of the Upper Paraná without the authorization of the Paraguayan authorities. This dispute was settled later in a treaty, signed on February 4, 1859, whereby the question was to be submitted to arbitration. In the main the arbitral award was favorable to Paraguay.

López was compelled by a display of force, to sign a treaty of limits with Brazil on April 27, 1855. A treaty with Argentina on the boundary question was refused ratification in 1852, and a new one was negotiated in 1856. But the final settlement of the boundary disputes between Paraguay and these two nations took place only after the Paraguayan War.

An attempt was made by López to bring French immigrants to Paraguay, but the experiment failed.

Francisco López as President. In 1857 the congress reëlected López for another term of ten years. But on Sep-

tember 10, 1862, he died, having previously appointed his son, Francisco Solano López, vice-president of the republic. As such, Francisco López assumed the executive office at once. Later, the congress elected him for the legal term of ten years.

Francisco López assumed the government of Paraguay at a difficult period, requiring the utmost tact, a quality which he did not possess. Both Argentina and Brazil had postponed the final settlement of their boundary disputes with Paraguay until a more opportune moment. His father had left the country in excellent economic condition, with a strong and well disciplined army, a strong navy, and efficient defenses. Francisco López continued to improve the armed forces of the country and conceived grandiose dreams of an empire and military glory.

The Paraguayan War. For some time both Argentina and Brazil had been intervening in the internal politics of Uruguay, where they favored the party headed by Flores against the government. On August 30, 1864, Paraguay notified Brazil that she disapproved of Brazilian interference in Uruguay and that her government was disposed to intervene in the question if Brazilian forces were to invade that country. When Brazilian forces did enter the Uruguayan territory, Paraguay broke off diplomatic relations with Brazil, prohibited the navigation of the Paraná and Paraguay Rivers to Brazilian shipping, captured a Brazilian vessel, the *Marquez de Olinda*, then in Paraguayan waters, and ordered an expedition to invade the Brazilian province of Matto Grosso. On January 14, 1865, López requested from Argentina permission to cross the province of Corrientes to attack the Brazilian province of Rio Grande do Sul, and upon refusal, he declared war against Argentina.

Meanwhile, on May 1, 1865, at Buenos Aires, a treaty of offensive and defensive alliance had been signed between Brazil, Argentina, and Uruguay. This treaty, which declared that the war was to be carried on against López until his downfall, also provided that Paraguay should be compelled to pay a war indemnity, that the Paraguayan defenses should be destroyed, and that the boundary disputes with the allied powers should be finally settled. Although secret, this treaty became known throughout the world soon after its signature.

The war lasted longer than was expected, owing to the determined resistance of the Paraguayan people and the strategic advantages of Paraguay. The brunt of the war fell on Brazil. Despite jealousy and lack of cooperation between the allied commanders, the Paraguayan defenses were gradually broken down. On June 11, 1865, the Paraguayan fleet was destroyed in the Battle of Riachuelo. Then slowly the allied troops under the general command of President Mitre of Argentina advanced into Paraguayan territory. On February 19, 1868, the Brazilian fleet forced the dangerous passage of Humaitá on the Paraguay River. The fortresses of Humaitá fell a few months later. In 1868 General Mitre left the command of the allied forces in the hands of the Brazilian, Baron of Caxias, who on January 2, 1869, entered Asunción at the head of the Brazilian-Argentine-Uruguayan troops. López withdrew toward the north. On March 1, 1870, he was attacked near Cerro Corá and killed. The war ended with his death. This conflict, one of the bloodiest ever fought in the Western Hemisphere, lasted six years and reduced the population of Paraguay to about half.

Provisional Government. In 1869, after the capital fell into the hands of the allies, a provisional government was set up. The following year a treaty of peace was signed providing for the payment of a heavy war indemnity by Paraguay. An army of occupation remained in the country until 1876.

In the negotiation of boundary treaties with the allies, Paraguay did not lose as much territory as might have been expected, because of quarrels among the allied governments. The treaty with Argentina, signed in 1876, provided that the boundary line between the Pilcomayo and the Verde Rivers was to be determined by arbitration of the President of the United States. In 1878 President Hayes issued the arbitral award which in the main was favorable to Paraguay.

Politics Since the Paraguayan War

The Constitution of 1870. In 1870 a constituent congress met and adopted a modern constitution providing for a bicameral congress, the executive to be elected for four years.

There followed a period of dictators and revolutions until 1912, when President Eduardo Schaerer was able to serve out his full term. In 1916 a member of the Radical party, Manuel Franco, was elected president. He was followed in 1920 by Manuel A. Gondra, a distinguished jurist. But one year later a revolution overthrew him and Eusebio Ayala became chief executive. Ayala resigned in 1923, and the congress elected Eligio Ayala to succeed him. In 1928 José P. Guggiari became president. He was succeeded by Eusebio Ayala, who was deposed by the army in 1936.

The Chaco War. A Treaty of Limits signed in 1879 between Paraguay and Bolivia provided that the boundary between the two countries should be a line due west from the mouth of the Apa River to the Pilcomayo River; but this agreement was not ratified. In 1887 another treaty was signed more favorable to Paraguay; but this also was rejected. In 1927, at the invitation of Argentina, delegates from both nations met in Buenos Aires to discuss the matter. Unfortunately, in December, 1928, a clash between soldiers of the two nations led to a break in diplomatic relations between the two countries. Preparations for war followed. Despite all efforts of the other American nations and of the League of Nations to prevent an armed conflict, war broke out in all seriousness by the middle of 1932. The following year Paraguay declared war, intending to bring into play against Bolivia an embargo of armament sales from the neutrals. But Bolivia continued to purchase armament in Chile, which led to a protest and the breaking of diplomatic relations between Paraguay and Chile.

In 1933 the Inter-American Conference, meeting at Montevideo, secured the signing of a truce between the two nations. Another truce was agreed upon in the middle of 1935. In August, 1937, the two countries renewed diplomatic relations. Finally on July 9, 1938, a treaty of peace and friendship was signed by the two countries at Buenos Aires, ending the conflict. This was due, in great measure, to the constant efforts of the six neutral delegates to the Chaco Peace Conference, representing Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Peru, the United States, and Uruguay. The treaty provided

for the arbitration of the boundary between the sixty-second meridian and the Paraguay River. By October 10, 1938, the Arbitral College, made up of delegates of the same countries, had rendered its decision, which was accepted by the two parties.

Recent Presidents. Early in 1936 President Eusebio Ayala, who favored a conciliatory policy toward Bolivia, exiled Colonel Rafael Franco, the leader of a group of young army officers who wished to continue the war until the complete defeat of Bolivia. Franco, a national hero, rose against the government and overthrew Ayala. His program of government included labor legislation and the distribution of land among the poor, as well as the nationalization of the natural resources and main industries of the country. With the carrying into effect of some of these reforms, there was unrest throughout the nation. In August, 1937, Franco resigned, and a more conservative man, Dr. Félix Paiva, was made president, at first in a provisional character and later (October 10, 1938) as constitutional executive for an indefinite term. On April 30, 1939, however, General José Félix Estigarribia was elected president for a four-year term. Inaugurated on August 15, 1939, President Estigarribia assumed dictatorial powers and embarked on a program of public works construction and aid to agriculture, industry, and commerce. He favored the enactment of minimum wage laws, protection of labor unions, and the guarantee of political freedom in the country.

By a presidential decree of February 18, 1940, a committee was appointed to draw up the project of a new constitution. This instrument, which followed the fundamental lines of the 1870 Constitution but gave the government extensive powers over the nation's economic life, was adopted and the new constitution went into effect on July 10, 1940.

On September 7, 1940, President Estigarribia was killed in an airplane accident, and General Higinio Morinigo, Minister of War, assumed the presidency in a provisional character appointed by the cabinet. Presidential elections were postponed until 1943.

In 1940 the U. S. Export-Import Bank granted a credit of \$3,000,000 to Paraguay to help the country free itself from financial dependency on Argentina.

Economic, Social, and Intellectual Development

Economic Development. Paraguay produces a great deal of good tobacco, about 35,000,000 pounds of cotton a year, between 6,000 and 7,000 tons of Paraguayan tea (*yerba mate*), and some fruit. Oil of petitgrain, extracted from the leaves of a native orange tree, is exported. The livestock industry is growing, the country having approximately 3,850,000 head of cattle. Quebracho is exported for tanning purposes.

Besides many navigable rivers, Paraguay has some 264 miles of railroads, and a few good highways of small mileage. The country is served by air lines connecting with Argentina and other countries.

Social Development. The population of Paraguay is estimated at approximately 850,000, of which the largest proportion are of mixed blood. Lately, immigration has been encouraged. About six thousand Mennonites, mostly from Canada and the United States, have settled in the country on land furnished on easy terms by the government. There are also some German, Czecho-Slovakian, and Russian settlements. The standard of living of most of the population is very low.

Public Education. There are 768 public primary schools, with some 3,000 teachers and an enrolment of about 100,000 pupils. There are 6 normal schools, about 150 secondary schools with an enrolment of nearly 1,000, and a university at Asunción.

Literary and Artistic Development. Among the most important writers the following may be mentioned: Alejandro Guanes, a poet; Casaccia Bibolini, a novelist; Juan Stefanich, an essayist; and Juan E. O'Leary, a poet.

URUGUAY

Although one of the smallest of the Latin American nations, Uruguay is today one of the most progressive. Its history may be divided into four main periods. From 1811

to 1821, the Uruguayan people, under the leadership of Artigas, endeavored to establish an independent government of their own, from 1821 to 1828, the country was first under the Portuguese and Brazilian domination as the "Cisplatine Province," and later under the domination of Argentina, from 1828, when both Brazil and Argentina recognized the independence of Uruguay, until 1904, the country was in perpetual chaos. Civil war ended during the presidency of José Batlle y Ordóñez, who was able to enter into an agreement with his enemies (September 20, 1904). Since then the country has progressed very rapidly.

Efforts to Establish an Independent Government (1811-1821)

At the outset of independence in the River Plate, Uruguay (or the Banda Oriental, as it was then known) remained at first loyal to the Spanish government. The revolution did not begin until February, 1811, when José Gervasio Artigas, a captain in the Spanish army, joined the patriots in Buenos Aires. From then to 1820 Artigas was recognized as leader of the movement for independence in the Banda Oriental.

The war against the royalists in the River Plate ended with the surrender of the Spanish authorities in Montevideo on June 20, 1814, although by the end of 1812 most of the territory of the Banda Oriental was under the control of Artigas.

On April 4, 1813, Artigas gathered at his home representatives of the people to elect delegates to the general constituent assembly recently established in Buenos Aires. Artigas was chosen at this time military governor of Uruguay and president of the provincial government. The delegates sent to Buenos Aires were instructed to demand, among other things, that absolute independence be declared at once by the United Provinces, and that a confederate government be established allowing to the Banda Oriental autonomy of government.

Upon refusal of the Buenos Aires congress to recognize the Uruguayan delegates on this basis, another provincial as-

sembly met on December 8, 1813, and chose new delegates. At the same time Artigas was deposed from office as military governor.

Under the circumstances, Artigas broke with the Buenos Aires government and abandoned the siege of Montevideo, which was still in the hands of the royalists. Crossing into Argentina, he proclaimed war against the Buenos Aires government in the name of the principles of autonomy and civil, religious, and commercial liberty. His authority was recognized at once by the provinces of Corrientes, Entre Ríos, Santa Fe, and Córdoba.

After the fall of Montevideo in 1814, the Banda Oriental was ruled by agents sent by the Buenos Aires government until 1815, when Fructuoso Rivera, a supporter of Artigas, defeated the Argentine troops and compelled them to evacuate Montevideo.

Artigas and the Federal League. From his headquarters at Hervidero, on the east bank of the Uruguay River, Artigas ruled the Banda Oriental and the four Argentine provinces which had recognized his authority. These provinces, and Misiones, between the Paraná and the Uruguay Rivers, formed a "Federal League" against Buenos Aires. In 1816 Artigas organized Uruguay into six administrative provinces or departments. The same year, the first public library was opened in Montevideo under the auspices of a distinguished scholar, Father Damaso A. Larrañaga. A few primary schools were organized.

The Portuguese Invasion of 1816. The Portuguese court, then established in Rio de Janeiro, had for some time endeavored to extend its control as far as the River Plate. Under the pretext of protecting its territory from the raids of Artigas' irregular troops (called *montoneras*), a Portuguese army was sent in August, 1816, into the Banda Oriental under the command of General Carlos Frederico Lecor. Artigas and Rivera were defeated. On January 20, 1817, Lecor entered Montevideo, where the *cabildo* accepted the Portuguese rule.

Indignant at the lack of help from Buenos Aires, Artigas declared war against the Argentine government. But he was

defeated by the governor of Entre Ríos and was compelled to take refuge in Paraguay. Received by Francia, dictator of Paraguay, Artigas died in that country on September 23, 1850. Six years later his remains were taken to Montevideo and interred in the National Pantheon. Artigas is honored by his compatriots as the founder of Uruguayan nationality.

Foreign Domination (1821-1828)

The Portuguese Domination. On July 18, 1821, a congress convened in Montevideo and declared the annexation of Uruguay to the United Kingdom of Portugal, Brazil, and Algarves, under the name of the "Cisplatine Province." When, in 1822, Brazil became independent of Portugal, General Lecor in Montevideo sided with Dom Pedro, first emperor of Brazil. After a short campaign between the partisans of Portugal and those of Dom Pedro, the Cisplatine Province was annexed to Brazil on May 9, 1824.

The War of Independence. On April 19, 1825, a group of thirty-three Uruguayans led by Juan Antonio Lavalleja, and known as the "Immortal Thirty-three," crossed from Argentina into the Banda Oriental and raised the flag of rebellion against the Brazilians. On June 14, 1825, a provisional government was set up under the direction of Manuel Caleros, and on August 25, a declaration of independence was issued. Lavalleja was elected governor and captain general of the province, and the Banda Oriental was declared incorporated in the United Provinces of the River Plate.

The Brazilians were defeated in the battles of Rincón and Sarandí. An Argentine army joined the Uruguayan patriots in January, 1826. At the same time the Argentine fleet under the command of Admiral Brown defeated the Brazilian fleet in the River Plate in February, 1826, and again in February, 1827. In December, 1826, the Argentine forces invaded southern Brazil. The following February 20, the Brazilian troops were decisively defeated in the Battle of Ituzaingó. Peace was signed on August 27, 1828, both Argentina and Brazil recognizing and guaranteeing the independence of Uruguay.

Anarchy and Caudillaje (1829-1868)

On September 10, 1829, a constitution was adopted by a constituent and legislative assembly, providing for the establishment of a representative republic under the name of "República Oriental del Uruguay." The assembly also elected José Rondeau as provisional executive of the republic.

Meanwhile, a quarrel had developed among the Uruguayan patriots. Two factions appeared, one called *Blancos*, led by Lavalleja, and another *Colorados*, under the leadership of Rivera. On April 25, 1830, Lavalleja became provisional president after Rondeau had resigned. But he soon afterward assumed dictatorial powers and removed Rivera from his post of commander of the army. War between the two factions seemed inevitable when, thanks to the efforts of several patriots and, among them, particularly of Father Larrañega, a conciliation pact was signed between Rivera and Lavalleja on June 16, 1830. The following October, Rivera was elected first constitutional president of the republic by the national legislative assembly.

The peace between the *Blancos* and *Colorados* did not last long. On July 3, 1832, a revolution broke out in Montevideo aiming at the overthrow of Rivera. Although defeated at first, the *Blancos*, helped by Rosas, the tyrant of Buenos Aires, invaded Uruguay in 1834. Again defeated by the government forces, their leader, Lavalleja, was compelled to take refuge in Brazil.

In 1835 General Manuel Oribe was elected president, with the support of both parties. His government was peaceful at first. But in consequence of the president's apparent friendship with the *Blancos* and with Rosas, the followers of Rivera arose in revolution (July, 1836) against the government. An Argentine army under Lavalleja crossed into Uruguay to help Oribe. In the decisive Battle of Palmar (June 15, 1838), the government forces were defeated. Oribe resigned and sailed to Buenos Aires.

In 1839 Rivera became president and signed treaties of alliance with the ruler of Corrientes and with the French against Rosas. But war broke out, and Argentine forces under

the command of Oribe, laid siege to Montevideo on February 16, 1843. This siege, known as the "*Guerra Grande*," lasted nearly nine years, until October, 1851, despite the efforts of Great Britain, France, and Brazil to put an end to the conflict. It ended with the defeat of Oribe at the hands of General Urquiza, Governor of Entre Ríos, who revolted against Rosas in 1851 and signed a treaty of alliance against the tyrant with the Uruguayan patriots and with Brazil.

War with Brazil and Flores' Dictatorship. From 1852 to 1853 Juan Francisco Girón was president. He was compelled to resign in consequence of a revolution headed by César Díaz and León Palleja. A triumvirate composed of Lavalleja, Rivera, and Venancio Flores was established to govern the country in a provisional character. But soon after, Lavalleja and Rivera died and Flores was elected to complete Girón's unfinished term of office.

Flores was, from the beginning, antagonized by a group of the *Colorado* party called *Conservadores*, who feared that the new president intended to perpetuate himself in power. A revolution broke out in the capital on August 28, 1855. Flores was overthrown, and Manuel B. Bustamante was elected provisional president.

The civil war continued with short intervals of peace. In 1860 Bernardo P. Berro became president. On April 19, 1863, Flores, who had taken refuge in Buenos Aires, invaded Uruguay at the head of an army composed for the most part of members of the *Colorado* party. This invasion is known as the "*Cruzada Libertadora*."

As a consequence of losses suffered by Brazilian citizens living in Uruguay and the constant raids into southern Brazil by the warring factions, the Emperor Dom Pedro II of Brazil endeavored to bring about peace in Uruguay. For this purpose he sent José A. Saraiva to Montevideo. Failing to restore peace, Saraiva presented an ultimatum to the Uruguayan government demanding compensation for the losses suffered by Brazilian citizens. Upon rejection of this ultimatum, Brazilian troops, in December, 1864, joined the army of Flores in war against the government of Atanasio C. Aguirre, then

president of Uruguay. The allied forces entered Montevideo on February 21, 1865, after defeating the government army in several battles. Flores assumed once more the government of the country.

During the Paraguayan War, Flores, who had signed the Treaty of the Triple Alliance against López, cooperated personally as commander of a section of the allied armies.

On February 15, 1868, Flores was replaced by Pedro Varela as chief executive. Four days later he was assassinated in the streets of the capital by a fanatic belonging to the *Blanco* party.

Uruguay Since 1868

From 1868 to 1903 there were many presidents, who were usually overthrown by revolutions. Little progress could have taken place under the circumstances. In 1903 José Batlle y Ordóñez became the chief executive. At once a revolution broke out. But the president was able to suppress it by signing an agreement with his enemies on September 20, 1904, which put an end to civil war in Uruguay. During the remainder of the term of the Batlle y Ordóñez government some economic progress took place. This progress increased during the administration of Dr. Claudio Williman, the next president, inaugurated in 1907. Railroads were built and the harbor works were concluded. In 1909 Brazil granted to Uruguay the right of joint control over the Yaguarón River and the Mirim Lake.

Dr. Williman was followed by Batlle y Ordóñez (1911-1915), Dr. Feliciano Viera (1915-1919), and Dr. Baltasar Brum (1919-1923). The latter was the first president to govern under the Constitution of 1919.

The Constitution of 1919. This constitution, a very advanced instrument of government, provided for the establishment of a unitary republic, with the usual division of powers. The executive power was to be exercised by a president, elected by direct popular vote for four years, together with a National Council of Administration of nine members, chosen for six years by the people and by ministers of state, appointed by the National Council of Administration. The legis-

lature was bicameral, and a permanent commission of seven members was to sit while the congress was not in session. Local government was strengthened by the restoration of the powers of government of the municipalities.

Dr. Brum's administration was enlightened and progressive. He was followed by José Serrato (1923-1927), Juan Campisteguy (1927-1931), and Gabriel Terra (1931-1938).

Recent Administration. When President Terra was inaugurated, the country was suffering from a serious economic and financial depression. The president put into effect a vast program of public works to reduce unemployment and improve business conditions. A dispute arose between the president and the administrative council as to matters of policy. The president's enemies in the congress attempted to impeach him. At the same time an aggressive Communistic propaganda created unrest throughout the nation.

President Terra took measures to suppress unrest by force, and his action was criticized. He then dissolved the council and the congress. Former President Brum, who was president of the council, killed himself, fearing violence from the government forces. A constituent assembly met at the calling of the president and adopted a new constitution in 1934.

The new constitution provides for the establishment of a representative, democratic, republican form of government. It has some unusual features, such as the provision for the establishment of autonomous industrial organizations to be owned by the state; the regulation of labor conditions in industry and commerce; social insurance; protection and aid to children; obligatory primary education; and woman suffrage. It requires that all international treaties to which the nation becomes a party must include a clause providing for the arbitration or other peaceful settlement of all disputes arising between the contracting nations. The president is assisted by a council of ministers, composed of nine members chosen by the president from the two political parties polling the greatest number of votes at the presidential elections. Six are to be selected from the majority party.

Under this constitution, Terra was reelected in 1934. Unrest and plotting continued. In 1935 a military revolution took place, but it was suppressed by the government.

On June 19, 1938, General Alfredo Baldomir was inaugurated as chief executive of Uruguay. Until his announcement as a candidate to the presidency in the elections of 1938, he was Minister of National Defence in President Terra's cabinet.

President Baldomir clashed with Congress on a bill he strongly favored, providing for national military conscription. Despite popular opposition to the measure, this bill became law in July, 1940. It was said that much of the opposition to the bill was promoted by Nazi and Fascist agents. In fact, one month before the bill became law a plot was discovered against the government, and the police claimed to have found proofs of complicity of several German agents in this plot. However, no one was indicted by the courts. The process was reopened later on with no better results.

The proposed establishment of pan-American naval and air bases in Uruguay also raised considerable protests, partially Nazi-inspired, it is believed.

The U. S. Export-Import Bank granted a loan of \$7,000,000 to Uruguay during 1940.

Economic, Social, and Intellectual Development

Economic Development. Stock raising has always been and still is the principal Uruguayan industry. Of a total area available for pasturage and agriculture, 92 per cent is devoted to stock raising. The establishments producing *tasajo* (jerked beef) formerly handled all the meat exports, which went mostly to Brazil and Cuba. Since 1864, when the first meat extract plant was established, and particularly since 1905, when the first *frigorífico* or freezing plant was founded, meat exports have increased very rapidly. The stock census of 1934 placed the total number of cattle in the country at over 7,000,000 head and sheep at about 20,600,000 head. The total number of animals slaughtered in 1936 was 2,146,432 head.

There are some 3,200,000 acres of land under cultivation. The principal crops are wheat, corn, oats, barley, linseed, fruit, and vegetables. The country produces about 300,000 tons of wheat every year. Manufacturing is limited to local necessities.

There are 1,800 miles of railroads and 22,487 miles of highways of different types. The country is connected by air lines with Argentina, Brazil, and European nations.

Social Development. The population of Uruguay is estimated at a little over two million, the people being in the greater part of European descent. A good share of this population lives in the capital, Montevideo (684,036 inhabitants), which is one of the most beautiful and progressive cities of all Latin America. The standards of living of the Uruguayan population are very high. Social legislation of the most advanced type has been enacted by the government. Educational facilities are offered to the entire population throughout the country.

Public Education. Uruguay has about 1,500 public primary schools, with an enrolment of over 170,000 pupils. Private schools number 160, with an enrolment of 21,000 students. Besides 6 normal schools, there are 19 technical schools, and a university in the capital. The educational system of Uruguay is one of the most progressive in the whole continent.

Literary and Artistic Development. The patriarch of Uruguayan literature is Francisco Acuña de Figueroa (1790-1862), a monarchist, who satirized the movement for independence. Other writers of note are: Adolfo Berro (1819-1841), a romantic poet; Pedro P. Bermúdez (1806-1860), author of *El Charrúa*, a very successful drama on colonial wars with the Indians; Francisco X. de Achá (1828-1888), a poet and dramatist; Heraclio C. Farjado, (1833-1867), who wrote dramas and poetry; Alejandro Magariño Cervantes (1825-1893), a novelist and author of *La Estrella del Sur*, *Caramurú*, his best novel, dealing with gaucho life, and several plays; Washington P. Bermúdez (b. 1847), a poet; Juan Zorrilla de San Martín (b. 1857), an original poet who wrote *Tabaré*, which is considered the greatest masterpiece of Uruguayan

literature, Santiago Maciel (b. 1867), who wrote notable poems on the war between Chile and Peru; Carlos Roxlo (b. 1860), a literary critic, Eduardo Acevedo Díaz (b. 1848), the greatest of all Uruguayan novelists—the author of *Brenda*, *Ismael*, *Nativa*, and many other novels; Manuel Bermúdez (b. 1867), a realist novelist and author of *Las hermanas Flammery*; Carlos Reyles (1868-1938), a versatile novelist and author of *El Embrujo de Sevilla*, *Historias Primitivas*, and many other works of merit, and José Enrique Rodó (1872-1917), a poet, essayist, and one of the most influential writers in all Latin America—the author of *El Mirador de Prospero*, *Ariel*, and other works.

Uruguay has produced several painters of renown, including Juan and Nicanor Blanes, father and son. In music, Professor Francisco Curt Lange of the Division of Musical Research of the National University, ranks among the most influential authorities on folklore in the whole continent; also Eduardo Fabini and Luis Cluzeau Mortet have contributed much to the music field.

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CHAPTER TWENTY

BRAZIL

Among the Latin American nations, Brazil is the greatest in territory. It also has the largest population. Its historical development has been quite different from that of the other Latin American countries. In the first place, the early settlers were Portuguese instead of Spanish, and the Brazilians are today a Portuguese speaking people. In the second place, Brazil was the only Latin American nation to adopt for any length of time a monarchic form of government. The monarchy lasted in Brazil from the declaration of independence in 1822 until the Republican revolution in 1889, and is divided into two periods: the reign of Dom Pedro I (1822-1831), and the reign of Dom Pedro II (1831-1889). The Republican period may, in turn, be divided into two parts: The Old Republic (1889-1930) and The New Republic (1930 to the present).

THE FIRST EMPIRE (1822-1831)

After the declaration of independence in 1822 by Dom Pedro, most Brazilians and many Portuguese living in the country sided with the Autonomist party. José Bonifácio de Andrada e Silva (commonly known as José Bonifácio), a scientist of aristocratic family educated in Europe, contributed largely to the success of the independence movement. He was made premier of the cabinet appointed by Dom Pedro a few months before the declaration of independence and was one of the few organizers of the revolutionary governing junta in the São Paulo province in the latter part of the previous year.

Government Organization. Dom Pedro was acclaimed first emperor of Brazil on October 12, 1822, and was solemnly crowned in the chapel of the royal palace on December 1. Among his first acts was the signing of a decree granting amnesty to all political prisoners and expelling from Brazil certain Portuguese known to be declared enemies of the independence cause.

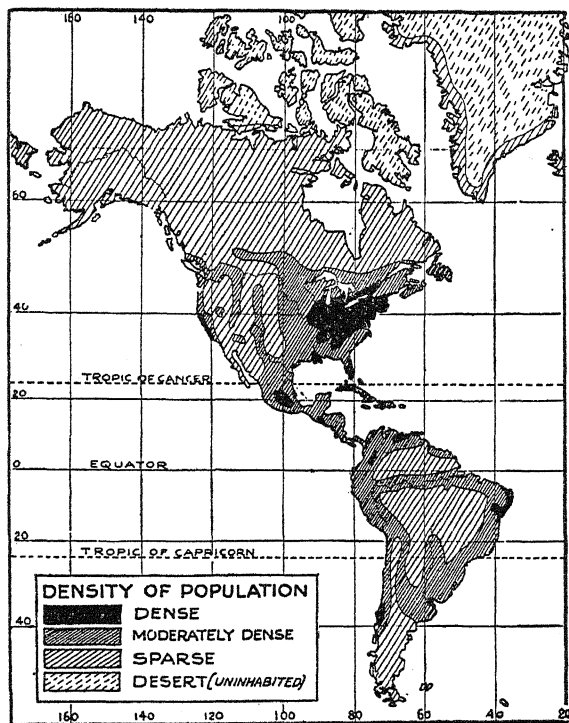


Fig. 41. Latin America: Density of Population. (Reproduced with permission from *The New World Atlas and Gazetteer* published by P. F. Collier and Sons Company, New York, 1921.)

In order to obtain the recognition of Brazilian independence by Great Britain, France, and the United States, Dom Pedro sent agents to those countries.

The war of independence lasted until 1825, when Portugal, through the mediation of Great Britain, recognized

Brazil's independence. It was waged mostly in the northern provinces of Pará, Maranhão, Ceará, and Bahia, where the Portuguese element was stronger.

At this time, at the suggestion of José Bonifácio, Lord Thomas Alexander Cochrane, a British adventurer, entered the service of Brazil after having helped in the organization of the patriot's navy in Chile and Peru. Cochrane organized the Brazilian navy and defeated the Portuguese fleet in several encounters. The Brazilian land forces were commanded by a French soldier named Pedro Labatut.

In the Cisplatine Province (the Banda Oriental), the Portuguese loyalists were defeated by General Carlos Frederico Lecor, who sided with the cause of independence. That province was annexed to Brazil on May 9, 1824.

The Constitution of 1824. The first general constituent and legislative assembly was called by Dom Pedro and met in Rio de Janeiro on April 17, 1823. This assembly was under the control of a conservative faction headed by José Bonifácio and his brothers, Antonio Carlos and Francisco Ribeiro de Andrada e Silva. The latter, as members of a drafting committee, prepared a rather conservative project. While the committee was at work antagonism developed between the Andrada brothers and the emperor. Dom Pedro ousted them from his cabinet and appointed another one with members of the Liberal faction. The Andrada brothers then organized an opposition party. Through the press, particularly the newspapers, called *O Tamoyo* and *A Sentinela*, they accused Dom Pedro of being more friendly toward the Portuguese than toward the native Brazilians. The situation was aggravated by quarrels between Portuguese-born army officers and Brazilians.

In November, the assembly declared itself in permanent session. Dom Pedro dissolved it at once, and arrested the Andrada brothers and other members of the opposition and exiled them. The following month a committee appointed by the emperor presented a project of a constitution based on the previous draft and on the French and Portuguese constitutions of that time. This constitution was sent to all the muni-

capital governments throughout the country for criticism and suggestions. Approved in the main by them, it was publicly sworn to in the capital on March 25, 1824. It remained in effect, with slight changes, until 1889. It provided for the establishment of a hereditary and limited monarchy; the emperor was to exercise the executive power, with the aid of a ministry and a privy council appointed by him; and the bicameral legislature was to be composed of a senate (the members of which were to be appointed for life by the emperor from lists chosen by indirect popular elections), and a house of representatives (the members of which were to be selected by electors chosen by popular vote). The assembly had the power of voting a new dynasty at any time, if necessary.

The Confederation of the Equator. As a result of dissatisfaction with Dom Pedro's government, a revolution broke out in the northern provinces in 1824 with the purpose of forming a federal republic separated from the empire. The proposed state was to be called "Confederation of the Equator." But the uprising was quickly suppressed by forces sent from the capital under the command of General Francisco de Lima e Silva.

The Loss of the Banda Oriental. At this time an uprising also broke out in the Banda Oriental. In April, 1825, Lavalleja and his followers landed in that province and led the inhabitants into rebellion against the Brazilian authorities. On August 25, the independence of the Banda Oriental was declared by the patriots, who also solicited annexation to the United Provinces of the River Plate. Buenos Aires sent an army to help Lavalleja. The Brazilian troops were decisively defeated in several encounters, and the Brazilian fleet was destroyed by the Argentine navy under the command of Admiral Brown. On August 27, 1828, a treaty was signed with the government of Buenos Aires whereby Argentina and Brazil recognized and guaranteed the independence of Uruguay.

Important Legislation. A law granting freedom of the press was adopted in 1823. The slave traffic was abolished in 1826, although the law was not put into effect until 1850.

In 1827 law faculties were created in São Paulo and Olinda. A criminal code was adopted in 1830. Primary education was promoted by the creation of schools in all cities, towns, and important settlements.

Dom Pedro's Abdication. Partly owing to the defeat of the Brazilian forces in the River Plate, and to his irregular marital relations, Dom Pedro became very unpopular. On March 10, 1826, his father, King John VI, died in Portugal. Dom Pedro, heir to the throne, was confronted with the problem of choosing between Portugal and Brazil, as he could not be king of both countries at the same time. He decided to abdicate the Portuguese throne in favor of his little daughter, Dona Maria da Gloria. But his enemies in Brazil spread the rumor that he wanted to unite the two kingdoms again under his own rule.

In April, 1831, a military revolt took place in the capital because of the dismissal by the emperor of the Liberal cabinet. As the population sided with the rebels, Dom Pedro, on the evening of April 6, decided to abdicate in favor of his little son, Dom Pedro de Alcantara. Early the following day he went on board the British ship *Warspite* with his wife, and six days later left for Europe on another ship, the *Volage*.

THE SECOND EMPIRE (1831-1889)

The same day, April 13, Dom Pedro de Alcantara was acclaimed second emperor of Brazil. He was born on December 2, 1825, in Brazil, of his father's first wife, Dona Maria Leopoldina, who had died while he was still an infant. Before leaving Brazil, his father asked José Bonifacio to be the tutor of the young emperor.

The Regency. The revolution of April resulted in the election by the legislature of a Council of Regency of three members (José Joaquim Carneiro de Campos, General Francisco de Lima e Silva, and Senator Nicolau Pereira de Campos Vergueiro). The Liberal ministry, dismissed by Dom Pedro I, was recalled by the Regency at once, and public order was restored.

The rule of the Regency constitutes a very important period in the history of Brazil. Despite many regional uprisings, it showed the capacity of the Brazilian people for self-government and prepared the way for the long, unified, and prosperous reign of Dom Pedro II after 1840

The first Regency governed from April 7 to June 17, 1831. It took measures to restore public order and to suppress several uprisings in the northern provinces as well as in Minas Geraes and Rio Grande do Sul.

The Andrada brothers, who had been allowed to return to Brazil just before the abdication of Dom Pedro I, became again centers of political activity with a view to securing the return of the first emperor. The political situation was aggravated by a severe economic depression due in great measure to the lack of capital and labor for the development of the country. Various political parties appeared at this time. One of the most important was founded by Evaristo da Veiga, a moderate Liberal newspaperman whose influence in national politics contributed in great measure to prevent the disintegration of the country.

On June 17, the Regency was declared permanent during the minority of the emperor. José Bonifacio was confirmed as tutor of the young emperor.

Public order was restored by the energetic action of Father Diogo Antonio de Feijó, Minister of Justice during the first permanent Regency. He severely punished any disturbance of the peace. Another element contributing to the restoration of peace was the adoption of the so-called *Acto Adicional*, promulgated on August 12, 1834, as an appendix to the Constitution of 1824 and granting a certain measure of autonomy to the provinces. It also reduced the number of Regents to one.

The influence of the Andrada brothers decreased with the dismissal of José Bonifacio in 1832 from the tutorship of the emperor for alleged participation in a revolutionary plot. The death of the former emperor in Portugal in 1834 also discouraged the reactionary movement headed by the Andrada brothers. Many of their followers later adhered to the Conservative party, headed by Bernardo de Vasconcellos.

The Regencies created a national guard; abrogated the ancient decrees of war against the Indians, freed the slaves brought from foreign countries; reorganized professional education, established a bank of deposit and issue; established the municipal district of the court, later changed into the Federal District, and aided the construction of the first railroad, inaugurated in 1854 by private initiative

The Regencies of Feijó and Araujo Lima. In 1835 Feijó was elected regent. Between April, when he was elected, and October, when he was inaugurated, the country was governed by General Lima e Silva because, of the two other regents, one had died and the other had resigned. The same year the Farrapos War broke out in the province of Rio Grande do Sul in the extreme south of the country. The rebels were commanded by Bento Gonçalves da Silva and their purpose was to establish a federal republic. The following year Bento Gonçalves was proclaimed president of the rebel government and the name "Piratinin Republic" was adopted for the proposed state. The war lasted for ten years. Regent Feijó, unable to suppress the revolution, resigned, on September 19, 1837, and was replaced by Pedro de Araujo Lima.

During Araujo Lima's regency the model secondary school, "Colegio Pedro II," was established in the capital (December 2, 1837); the Brazilian Historical and Geographical Institute was organized; and an agricultural school was created. Also at this time the two party system was established in Brazil with the alternation of the Liberal and Conservative parties in the cabinet. Several uprisings took place, but they were suppressed by the government.

Dom Pedro Declared of Age (1840). As a means of restoring public order in the provinces, the Liberals advocated the idea of declaring the emperor of age at once. Dom Pedro was not yet fifteen years old and the legal age was eighteen, but the movement received the adherence of many leaders throughout the country. On July 23, 1840, therefore, Dom Pedro II was declared of age by the imperial parliament, and the Regency was discontinued.

During the reign of Dom Pedro II, Brazil became one of the best governed countries in the Western Hemisphere. The emperor ruled wisely, promoted public education, commerce, means of communication, immigration, and agriculture. The parliamentary system was effectively established in Brazil with the alternation of the Liberals and Conservatives in power. The emperor's moderating power was exercised conservatively. Dom Pedro did not tolerate dishonesty in the public administration. Revolutionary movements in the provinces were suppressed by General Luis Alves de Lima e Silva, later Baron and finally Duke of Caxias, the outstanding military man of his time in Brazil. He also put an end to the Farrapos War in Rio Grande do Sul in 1845.

Dom Pedro II was crowned in July, 1841. A short time afterward he married Thereza Christina Maria, daughter of the king of Naples.

The War Against Rosas. The period from 1850 to 1870 was characterized by general prosperity, internal reforms, and foreign complications. In 1851 the Brazilian government came to the conclusion that it would be necessary to overthrow Rosas, the tyrant of Buenos Aires, to prevent his annexing the Banda Oriental to Argentina. An alliance was negotiated by the Brazilian empire with the Liberals of Uruguay and General Urquiza, leader of the opposition to Rosas in the Argentine provinces of Entre Ríos and Corrientes. By October, 1851, Oribe, commander of the Argentine troops in Uruguay, was compelled to raise the siege of Montevideo, which had lasted since 1843. Finally, at the Battle of Monte Caseros on February 3, 1852, Rosas's last resistance was broken. The tyrant then resigned and left the country.

At this time several important measures were taken. The Bank of Brazil was reorganized; a manual arts school was created; and the country was divided into twenty-one provinces and one neutral municipal district.

Other Foreign Complications. In 1862 a British ship, the *Prince of Wales*, was shipwrecked near the coast of the Rio Grande do Sul province. William D. Christie, British representative, dissatisfied with the inquiry of the government

officials, demanded that a British naval officer be included in the investigating board. A short while before, another diplomatic question had arisen between the two countries, because of the disorderly conduct of several British sailors in the Brazilian capital and their arrest by the local police. Christie violently demanded reparation, and when his demand was not heeded, he severed relations with the Brazilian government. Immediately afterward, reprisals were taken by British ships against Brazilian vessels. Brazil protested and the matter was submitted to arbitration. The award of King Leopold I of Belgium, issued on June 18, 1863, was in the main favorable to Brazil. The relations between Brazil and Great Britain were restored a year later, thanks to the mediation of the king of Portugal.

At this time Brazil was compelled to intervene in Uruguay. For years the Brazilian government had complained against depredations and assassinations of Brazilian citizens in Uruguay and across the border in Brazilian territory by Uruguayan irregulars fighting in the civil wars of that country. These complaints were always ignored. In 1864, when Aguirre assumed the presidency of Uruguay, these depredations increased because of support given by Brazilians to Flores, the other Uruguayan *caudillo*.

The emperor sent to Montevideo, José Antonio Saraiva, one of the ablest Brazilian statesmen of all times, to endeavor to bring about a settlement of the dispute. After futile negotiations, he presented an ultimatum to Aguirre on August 4, 1864, and when this was not heeded a Brazilian army invaded Uruguay. In the short war that followed, the troops of Aguirre were defeated. Flores, helped by the Brazilian troops, laid siege to Montevideo, which surrendered in February, 1865.

The Paraguayan War. After his inauguration in 1862 as chief executive of Paraguay, Francisco Solano López entertained dreams of extending his territorial domain. With this in view he increased the army, the navy, and the general defences of the country.

In November, 1864, López protested against Brazilian intervention in Uruguay. As his protest had no effect he

held a Brazilian ship, the *Marquez de Olinda*, then in Paraguayan waters, closed the Paraguay and Paraná Rivers to Brazilian shipping, and sent an army into the Mato Grosso province of Brazil.

On May 1, 1865, Brazil signed with Uruguay and Argentina a treaty of alliance against López. The war lasted longer than expected, but with the death of López on March 1, 1870, near Cerro Corá, the conflict was ended. A treaty of limits was signed between Brazil and Paraguay on March 27, 1872.

The Slavery Question. African slaves were first brought to Brazil in about 1532. By the middle of the nineteenth century sentiment against slavery developed in Europe, particularly in Great Britain. In 1845 the British Parliament adopted the Aberdeen Act, by which all ships suspected of carrying on the slave trade were to be pursued by British cruisers even within the territorial waters of foreign countries, and the traders were to be tried under British laws.

This was an evident breach of international law, and when several Brazilian slave traders were arrested by British cruisers, public opinion throughout Brazil became strongly antagonistic to Great Britain. However, on November 14, 1850, the Brazilian parliament adopted a law abolishing slave traffic, as provided by the law of November 7, 1831, promulgated in accordance with the agreement with Great Britain signed in 1825, at the time when the latter recognized Brazil's independence.

In 1848 about sixty thousand slaves had been landed in the Brazilian ports. After the adoption of the 1850 law, the number of slaves introduced in the country decreased rapidly, and by 1855 the traffic was almost extinct. Anti-slavery sentiment also increased throughout the country, and many projects of law were introduced in the parliament providing for the abolition of slavery. The emperor was decidedly in favor of abolition, but he held that it should be carried out slowly and with compensation to the owners. On September 28, 1871, the Rio Branco Law, named for Viscount Rio Branco, who was responsible for its approval by the assembly, was adopted, freeing the children of slaves who were born after that date; on September 28, 1885, another law freed slaves sixty years

old or more. Dom Pedro declared at this time in the Council of Ministers that he would rather lose his crown than allow slavery to continue in Brazil much longer. Finally, on May 13, 1888, a law was adopted abolishing slavery in the whole country. No compensation was provided, however, for the owners. At the time of abolition the number of slaves existing in Brazil was about 740,000.

Among the principal leaders of the abolitionist movement were Joaquim Nabuco de Araujo, José do Patrocínio, Affonso Celso Junior, João Alfredo Correa de Oliveira, and Antonio Prado. Princess Isabel, who occupied the Regency of the country in the absence of the emperor, signed the Law of 1888. For this reason she is known as "Isabel the Redeemer" in Brazilian history.

The Republican Propaganda. After 1870 the Republican ideals spread throughout the country under the benevolent rule of Dom Pedro II. That year a few young men formed a Republican Club, and a newspaper, *A Republica*, appeared as an organ of propaganda of the Republican ideals. Among the members of this group were Saldanha Marinho, Aristides Lobo, and Quintino Bocayuva. On December 3, 1870, a Republican declaration to the nation was issued, and a few months later a Republican convention took place in the city of São Paulo. The Republican ideals spread among army officers, particularly in the military school, where a strong Republican, Benjamin Constant B de Magalhães (commonly known as Benjamin Constant), was professor of mathematics. In the election of 1885 the Republicans were able to elect three deputies.

Dissatisfaction With the Emperor. The Republican propaganda against the Emperor found fertile ground among those who complained of his too great interference in the details of government.

Between 1873 and 1875 certain Church officials headed by the Bishop of Olinda quarreled with the Masons in Pará and Pernambuco over the attempted expulsion by the Catholics of members of the Masonic lodges from the religious organizations known as *Irmandades*. Instead of remaining

neutral, the government took the side of the Masons and imprisoned two Church bishops. This act caused many of the Catholics to become opposed to the emperor

Dissatisfaction also existed in certain military circles because of the tendency of the government to disregard what the army officers considered as their prerogatives and to punish certain officers who criticized the government through the press. One of the leading army officers, Marshal Manoel Deodoro da Fonseca, a hero of the Paraguayan War and at the time governor of the Rio Grande do Sul province, sided with the discontented faction.

After the abolition of slavery many plantation owners who had been impoverished by the loss of their slaves also sided with the enemies of the emperor.

The Overthrow of the Empire. By the middle of 1889 the Conservative ministry in power was being strongly criticized for its handling of the various national questions, and the Viscount of Ouro Preto was entrusted with the formation of a new ministry. A Liberal program of reforms was adopted by the new ministry, including the broadening of the suffrage, the establishment of religious freedom, the reform of the Council of State, the lowering of the import duties, and the reform of the civil code.

Despite this broad program of reform, dissatisfaction in the army increased. In November, 1889, rumors spread that the government would soon transfer certain battalions from the capital to the far regions of the country. A few army officers met in the house of Marshal Deodoro, then in the capital, and when, in the afternoon of the fourteenth of November, rumors spread that Deodoro da Fonseca and Benjamin Constant had been arrested, the revolution broke out in the barracks. On November 15, Deodoro da Fonseca seized control of the chief government departments and arrested the members of the ministry. In the evening of the same day, decrees were published in the name of the army, the navy, and the nation proclaiming the republic in Brazil, appointing a provisional government under the leadership of Deodoro da Fonseca, and banishing Dom Pedro and his family. The

following day the emperor was notified of his banishment, and on November 17, he was taken on board a ship with his family and sailed soon after for Europe. Dom Pedro died in a second-rate hotel in Paris on December 5, 1891, after having refused a donation of money from the revolutionary government of Brazil.

THE "OLD REPUBLIC" (1889-1930)

The Republican régime established in Brazil in 1889 has become known, since the revolution of 1930, as the "Old Republic" to distinguish it from the new régime established in that year.

The provisional government headed by Deodoro da Fonseca adopted decrees abolishing corporal punishment in the armed forces of the nation and establishing universal manhood suffrage, freedom of religion, the separation of Church and State, the secularization of the cemeteries, a new civil code, and other reforms.

A committee was appointed to prepare a project of constitution, which was adopted provisionally on June 22, 1890. A constituent congress was then called, and the project prepared was adopted with slight changes on February 24, 1891. In general this constitution was similar to that of the United States, providing for a representative federal republic under the name of "Estados Unidos do Brasil" with the customary separation of powers, the executive to be elected by direct vote for a term of four years, a bicameral legislature, and a federal judiciary. The states were authorized to adopt constitutions of their own in harmony with the federal constitution. An extensive bill of rights was included in the constitution.

Early Presidents. Under this constitution, Deodoro da Fonseca was elected first president, with Marshal Floriano Peixoto as vice-president. Deodoro da Fonseca soon quarreled with the congress and dissolved it on November 3, 1891, assuming dictatorial powers. A few weeks later the navy revolted against him under the command of Rear Admiral Custodio José de Mello. Deodoro da Fonseca, advised by friends, resigned, and Vice-President Peixoto assumed the executive power.

There now followed a period of unrest and civil war. The new president called the national congress in special session. But on March 31, 1892, a manifesto signed by thirteen generals was published demanding new elections for president at once. At the same time war broke out in the southern provinces, and part of the fleet in the Bay of Guanabara revolted on September 6, 1893, under the leadership of Custodio José de Mello and Rear-Admiral Luiz Felipe de Saldanha da Gama. After severe fighting between the land forces loyal to the government and the ships which had revolted, the rebellion was suppressed. By the end of the following year public order had been reestablished throughout the country, except in parts of the extreme south, where peace was restored only in 1895.

Subsequent Presidents. On November 15, 1894, Prudente José de Moraes Barros was inaugurated president. He was the first civilian chief executive of the republic. He granted amnesty to all political prisoners and endeavored to restore order throughout the country. After four years of fighting, the rebellion led by the religious fanatic Antonio Vicente Mendes Maciel, commonly known as "Antonio Conselheiro," in the interior of the state of Bahia, was suppressed in June, 1897, by the government forces. The disruption of the economic forces of the country by the Republican revolution and succeeding uprisings resulted in a critical financial situation. The next president was Manoel Ferraz de Campos Salles, who was inaugurated in 1898. He was able to improve the financial situation of the country, thanks to a loan secured from European bankers. During this administration disputes with Bolivia and France, the latter over the boundary in the Guianas region, were brought to a satisfactory end by peaceful settlement. Francisco de Paula Rodrigues Alves was the next president. He was inaugurated in 1902. During his administration the capital was beautified, sanitary conditions in various cities were improved, and other reforms were undertaken. President Rodrigues Alves chose as Minister of Foreign Relations the distinguished diplomat Baron do Rio Branco, who negotiated with Bolivia the boundary agreement known as the Treaty of Petropolis (November 17, 1903). By

this agreement the serious dispute in regard to the Acre Territory was satisfactorily settled. A dispute with Great Britain over the boundary line in the Guianas region was brought to an end by arbitration in 1904. Two years later the boundary question with the Netherlands in regard to the remaining Guiana territory was also satisfactorily settled by direct negotiation between the two countries.

The next president was Affonso Augusto Moreira Penna, who was inaugurated in 1906. He improved the currency situation by creating a conversion bureau, which fixed the rate of exchange and guaranteed the redemption of paper money in gold. The general economic and financial situation of the country was immediately improved. President Penna died in 1909, and the vice-president, Nilo Peçanha, assumed the executive power. He negotiated the Treaty of 1909 with Uruguay, granting that country joint sovereignty over the Mirim Lake and the Yaguarón (or Jaguarão) River. A service of protection to the Indians was organized under the direction of General Cândido Mariano Rondon.

In 1910 Marshal Hermes da Fonseca became president. He reorganized the armed forces, suppressed several uprisings of the navy, and endeavored to improve the financial situation which had been unfavorably affected by the falling prices of coffee and rubber. Hermes da Fonseca was followed by Wenceslau Braz Pereira Gomes in 1914. Some improvement was noticed in the economic and financial situation of the country, owing to a rise in the price of coffee and to an increase in exports to Europe during the World War. The sinking of Brazilian vessels by German submarines led to a break of diplomatic relations between Brazil and Germany, and later to actual declaration of war. In 1918 former President Rodrigues Alves was again elected to the chief executive office, but he died shortly after inauguration. New elections were held and Epitácio da Silva Pessoa, then in Paris as head of the Brazilian delegation to the peace conference, was elected. He undertook a vast program of reclamation work in the northeastern section of the country. During his administration Brazil celebrated the first centennial of her independence in 1922. The imperial family was allowed by an act

of the congress to return to Brazil, and the remains of Dom Pedro II and his empress were brought back to Brazil and interred in the Cathedral at Petropolis.

THE "NEW REPUBLIC"

The End of the Hegemony of the Large States. From 1922 to 1926 Arthur da Silva Bernardes was president. He endeavored to improve the economic situation. A revolution

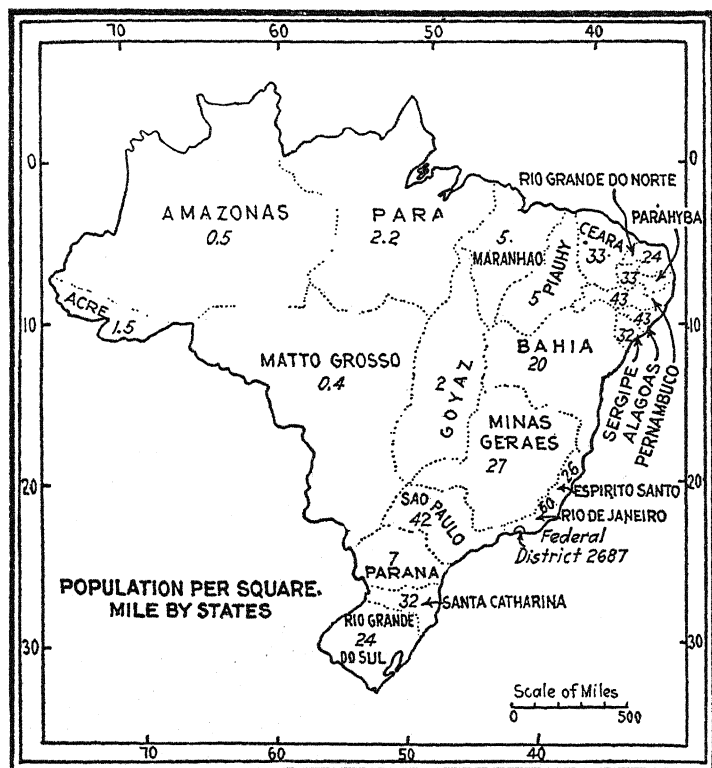


Fig. 42. Brazil: Political divisions and population. (Reproduced with permission from *Economic Geography of South America* by R. H. Whitbeck, published by the McGraw-Hill Book Company, New York, 1931.)

broke out in 1924, which quickly spread to the whole country with the purpose of ending the political hegemony of the large states. The government forces were able to suppress it. In 1926 Washington Luis Pereira de Souza was inaugurated as president. He carried into effect a program of reforms.

But resentment against his interference in the presidential elections of 1930, in favor of one of the candidates, Dr Julio Prestes, led to a revolution headed by Getulio Vargas, Governor of Rio Grande do Sul and also a candidate for the presidency of the Republic. The president was deposed, and Vargas assumed the executive power as dictator in October, 1930. The following year he declared a moratorium on the service of the external debt. The world market situation for coffee and sugar led the government to adopt a program of curtailment of planting and the destruction of crop surplus. This system somewhat improved the prices but resulted in a large deficit for the government.

In the summer of 1932 a revolution broke out in the state of São Paulo as a protest against the delay in returning to constitutional government. The revolutionists had a well-equipped army and were defeated only in consequence of the defection of one of their leaders. Early in August the federal forces surrounded and cut off the Paulistas, and forced them to lay down their arms. The revolution lasted eighty-three days.

The sacrifices of the people of São Paulo were not in vain. In 1934 a constituent congress gathered in the capital and adopted a strongly nationalistic constitution, which was promulgated on July 16 of that year. It contained many provisions which aimed at improvement of the social and economic conditions of the common people. Certain provisions also curtailed the privileges of foreigners in Brazil. The form of government remained essentially the same as that provided by the Constitution of 1891. Women were given the right to vote and to hold public office. Vargas was elected president under the new constitution.

On November 10, 1937, because of general unrest throughout the country, Vargas set aside the 1934 constitution and resumed the dictatorship. A new instrument of government, extending the powers of the executive and curtailing those of the states, was promulgated by President Vargas, subject to a plebiscite. Later the president dissolved by decree the Integralista party, a Fascist organization. The latter retali-

ated on May 11, 1938, in a revolt which was quickly suppressed by the government. Since then President Vargas has maintained his strong rule despite rumors of unrest in certain regions. During the latter part of 1940 it was said that President Vargas was planning to carry out the constitutional provision for a plebiscite. To date (April, 1940) no definite action has been taken to that effect.

The effects on the national economy from the curtailment of exports have been somewhat counterbalanced by the adoption of coffee quotas which tended to stabilize the market, the flow of refugee European capital, estimated at some \$35,000,000; the negotiation of a partial settlement of Brazil's defaulted foreign debt, and by a U. S. Export-Import Bank's loan of \$17,000,000 for the establishment in Brazil of a domestic steel industry and commercial credits to the amount of \$25,000,000.

Economic Development. Agriculture is the most important source of wealth in Brazil. Coffee is cultivated on about 4,133,000 acres in various states. There are some 2,500,000,000 trees in the country, and the total production in 1935 to 1936 was nearly twenty-two million bags of 132 pounds. Other important agricultural products are sugar, cacao, Paraguayan tea, rubber, fruits, and cotton. Brazil exported some 139,000 metric tons of cotton in 1935. The exports of rubber amounted in 1935 to 12,419 metric tons. Tobacco and forest products were also exported in considerable amounts.

Stock raising is an important industry. The mineral wealth of the country is very great. Manganese is exported to the United States, and the state of Minas Geraes alone is estimated to have deposits of some eleven billion metric tons of this mineral still undeveloped. Brazil furnishes most of the monozite consumed in the world. Coal deposits are extensive but of inferior quality. Gold and diamonds are produced in considerable quantities.

The industrial development of Brazil is progressing very rapidly. In 1938 there were over 8,500 factories employing some 250,000 workers in the state of São Paulo alone. The

total number of workers employed by the Brazilian industries throughout the country is estimated at around 600,000. Textiles, shoes, and food products are the most important industries.

Brazil has many navigable rivers, about 20,500 miles of railroads, and some 17,000 miles of good highways. The country is well served by air lines.

Social Development. The total population of Brazil is estimated at over forty-four million. Several large cities are found in the country: Rio de Janeiro, the capital, has a population of over 1,500,000; São Paulo, 1,250,000, Recife, 425,000; and Bahia, 350,000. All but about 1,000,000 of the inhabitants of Brazil are Roman Catholics. Religious tolerance is guaranteed to all. A large proportion of the population, particularly in the interior, are of mixed blood. In the southern states, however, most of the population are of European stock. Large colonies of Germans and Italians, as well as of Portuguese and Spaniards, are to be found in that region. There are also some 250,000 Japanese in various sections of the country. The standards of living are high in the large centers of population but rather low in the interior, particularly in the more isolated regions. The social welfare has received a good deal of the attention of recent governments. Labor legislation of the most advanced type has been enacted since 1930.

Public Education. There are about 31,000 public primary schools, with some 60,000 teachers and an enrolment of 2,500,000 pupils. Secondary schools are maintained mostly by private funds, but there are over 300 of these schools under the government's supervision. Besides several technical and professional schools, there are universities in the states of São Paulo, Paraná, Minas Geraes, Pará, Rio Grande do Sul, and the Federal District. The federal government maintains a National University in the capital.

Literary and Artistic Development. The Brazilian literature is rich and varied. Among the most distinguished writers the following may be mentioned: José Domingos Gonçalves de Magalhães, a poet and author of *A Confederação dos Tamoyos*; Gonçalves Dias (1823-1864), a poet and author

of Indian poems, such as *Tymbiras*, *Canção do Tamoyo*, and others; Álvares de Azevedo (1831-1852), a very popular poet, inspired by Byron, Musset, and Shelley; Laurindo Rebello (1826-1864), a poet of great inspiration; Casimiro de Abreu (1837-1860), the writer of sweet and sad poetry; Fagundes Varella (1841-1871), a very versatile poet, inspired by Byron, and author of the lyric and descriptive *Evangelho das selvas*; Castro Alves (1847-1871), author of social poetry, such as *O Navio negreiro*, *Vozes d'Africa*, and others; Tobias Barreto (1839-1889), a more universal poet; Joaquim Manoel de Macedo (b. 1820), a novelist of great popularity; José de Alencar (1827-1877), writer of Indian novels, such as *O Guarany* and *Iracema*; Manoel Antonio de Almeida (1830-1861), author of historical novels such as *Memorias de um sargento de milicias*; Bernardo da Silva Guimarães (1827-1885), a novelist and poet; A. de Escagnolle Taunay (1843-1899), author of a very popular novel, *Innocencia*, and a historical book, *A Retirada da laguna*, of great merit; Francisco Adolpho Varnhagen (1816-1878), historian and author of *Historia geral do Brazil*, Pereira da Silva (1817-1898), a historian and author of *A Fundação do Imperio Brasileiro*. More recent writers are: Martins Junior and Luiz Guimarães, poets; Machado de Assis (1839-1908), a novelist, poet, essayist, and one of the greatest writers of the Portuguese language, Theophilo Dias, a poet and author of *Cantos tropicaes*; Raymundo Correa, author of fine poetry such as *Noites de inverno*; Olavo Bilac, one of the greatest poets of Brazil; Alberto de Oliveira; Luiz Murat, Aluizio Azevedo, a realist novelist and author of *O Mulato*, *a casa de pensão*, *O Cortiço*; Julio Ribeiro, a grammarian and realist novelist; Medeiros e Albuquerque; Xavier Marques; Joaquim Nabuco, a historian, essayist, and author of *Um Estadista do imperio*, an excellent study on the political life of the second empire; Sylvio Romero and José Verissimo, literary critics; João Ribeiro, a grammarian and historian, Manoel de Oliveira Lima, publicist, historian, and author of *Dom João VI no Brazil*; Affonso Arinos, a novelist; Graça Aranha, a modernist novelist; and Afranio Peixoto, Agrippino Grieco, Humberto de Campos, Alceu Amoroso Lima, Ronald de Carvalho, Monteiro Lobato, José Lins do Rego, José Americo de Almeida, Jorge de Lima, and many others.

Brazil has produced painters of merit, including Victor Meirelles de Lima, Almeida Reis, Pedro Americo, Rodolpho Amoedo, Bernardelli, Georgina de Albuquerque, Pedro Bruno, Henrique Cavaleiro, Leopoldo Potozzo, Oswaldo Teixeira, and Paulo Rossi, sculptors including Bertazzoni, J. Figueira, Leão H. Velloso; and musicians including Carlos Gomes, author of many operas, especially *Il Guarani*, Henrique Oswald, Luciano Gallet, J. Octaviano, Alberto Nepomuceno, and Heitor Villa-Lobos, the latter one of the outstanding composers of Latin America today.

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CHAPTER TWENTY-ONE

THE CARIBBEAN INSULAR STATES

There are only three independent states in the islands of the Caribbean—Haiti, the Dominican Republic, and Cuba. The first one is a French-speaking country; the other two are Spanish in language and culture. A third island of Spanish cultural background, Puerto Rico, has been a dependency of the United States since 1898. The other islands of the Caribbean are colonies or dependencies of Great Britain, France, the Netherlands, and the United States.

HAITI AND SANTO DOMINGO

The Island of Española Before 1844. The island of Santo Domingo, or Hispaniola (Española, in Spanish), was the center of Spanish colonization in the New World for many years. It became depopulated very early because of the extinction of the natives and as a consequence of the organization of many expeditions of white settlers to the mainland. Negro slaves were brought over to replace the native workers. At one time the Spanish government offered bounties to the settlers who remained on the island and even had to prohibit emigration in order to keep the island sufficiently populated for the purpose of defense.

The island was frequently attacked by freebooters and adventurers. In 1585 Drake captured the city of Santo Domingo, withdrawing only after the payment of ransom. In 1630 buccaneers took the western part of the island, where they established several settlements. A fort was built at Port-au-

Prince by French settlers shortly afterward. Eventually, by the Treaty of Ryswick (1697), the western section of the island was ceded to France. In this manner there appeared two colonies on the island: one, Spanish and the other, French. The island became known as St. Domingue to the French, and as Santo Domingo, Española, or Haiti to the Spaniards.

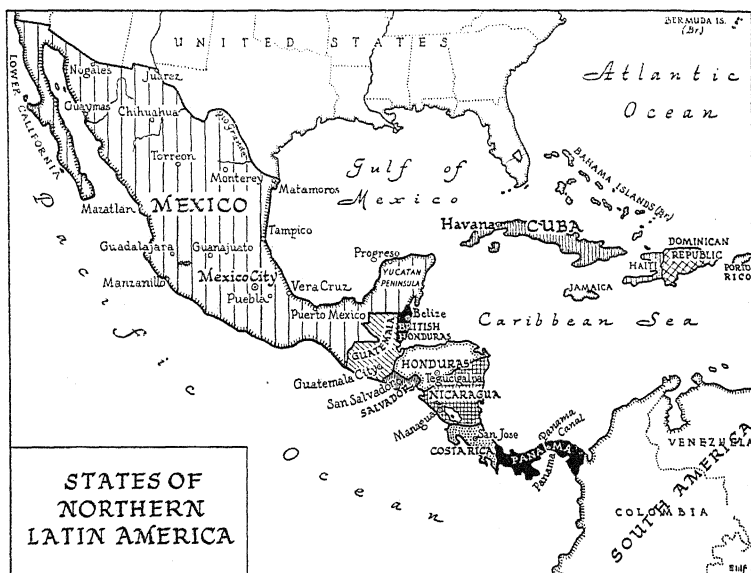


Fig. 43. States of Northern Latin America.

THE STRUGGLE FOR INDEPENDENCE. When the French Revolution broke out in 1789, the whites of the French settlement were admitted to the privileges of French citizens. Deprived of the same rights, the Negroes arose in rebellion on October 23, 1790, headed by an educated mulatto, named Jacques Vicente Ogé. The uprising was severely suppressed, and the leaders were executed. On May 16, 1791, the French Assembly decreed that all colored persons born of free parents in French territory should be free. The whites protested, and the decree was not enforced. This caused another rebellion of the colored element on the island. During the revolt, Spanish and British forces attacked the French section by land and by sea, and in August, 1793, in order to put an end to the civil conflict, the French authorities declared slavery

abolished. The Spanish and British invaders were expelled with the help of the Negroes under the leadership of Toussaint L'Ouverture, a pure-blooded Negro of considerable ability. By the Treaty of 1795, France received the whole island. Meanwhile, Toussaint had established himself as the ruler of the island, adopting a constitution on July 1, 1801. This constitution provided that the Catholic Church would be the official church, commerce was to be free from all restrictions, and the blacks and whites were to be equal before the law. The island was also declared independent of all countries, and Toussaint was made president for life.

Napoleon endeavored to reconquer the island. He sent an expedition under the command of General Victor Emanuel Leclerc, which was nearly wiped out by guerrilla warfare and yellow fever. Leclerc won over Jean Jacobo Dessalines and Henri Christophe, and agreed with Toussaint to call a representative assembly to decide upon the future government of the island. When this assembly met on May 1, 1802, Toussaint was seized by the French and later sent as a prisoner to France, where he died in a dungeon in 1803. War broke out again on the island. Finally, on December 2, 1802, Leclerc died of yellow fever. His successor hunted down revolutionists with bloodhounds. But despite these ruthless measures, the French were defeated and compelled to surrender at the end of 1803. The following year independence was declared once more, and Dessalines became the president of the Republic of Haiti.

DESSALINES' EMPIRE. Soon after, Dessalines declared himself emperor of the island, under the name Jacques I, ordering all the French inhabitants to be executed. On October 17, 1806, he was assassinated, and Christophe made himself the ruler, under the name of Henri I. But at Port-au-Prince, Alexandre Pétion revolted and established himself as ruler, disputing with Christophe the supreme authority over the island. In 1818 Pétion died, and two years later Christophe committed suicide. General Jean Pierre Boyer, in 1822, became the ruler of the island in the west. In 1825 the French acknowledged the independence of Haiti.

Meanwhile, in 1806 the Spaniards regained control over their half of the island. But in 1821 its independence from Spain was declared, under the protection of Great Colombia. However, in January, 1822, Boyer of Haiti conquered the Spanish section of the island, uniting it with Haiti under a single government to form the Republic of Haiti. It was not until 1844 that the Spanish section of Haiti became free again.

The Republic of Haiti Since 1844

EARLY PRESIDENTS. General Boyer ruled Haiti until 1842, when he was overthrown. Five years later General Faustin Èlie Soulouque was elected president. On August 26, 1849, he proclaimed himself emperor, under the title of Faustin I. He amended the constitution and created a nobility. In 1850 he was crowned with great pomp. But his despotism led to a revolution, and in 1859 he was overthrown by General Fabre Geffrard. In 1867 Geffrard in turn was overthrown. There followed a period of constant anarchy and many presidents.

In 1869 the United States appointed Ebenezer Don Charles Basset as Minister resident and Consul General in Haiti, this being the first appointment of a colored American to a diplomatic post. In 1874 and 1875 two large loans of three million and twelve million piastres, respectively, were secured from France, burdening the country unnecessarily. Around 1900 the first railroad was constructed from Cape Haitian to the Grand Rivière du Nord. German capitalists also received several concessions for the construction of railroads. At the end of the century many Cubans went to Haiti on account of the severity of the Spanish rule in Cuba. Most of them were excellent workers and made a valuable contribution to the economic life of Haiti.

FOREIGN COMPLICATIONS. In 1904, during Nord Alexis' administration, there were several attacks by natives upon French and German citizens living in Haiti. These attacks resulted in foreign intervention. Unable to maintain order, Alexis was overthrown. In 1913 Michel Oreste became the first civil president of Haiti. He surrounded himself at first with ministers of ability, and one of his first acts was to introduce

measures to reduce military expenditures. But gradually he became despotic and a revolt broke out against his government, compelling him to resign. In 1915 Villbrun Guillaume Sam became president, but shortly afterwards a massacre of political prisoners took place at Port-au-Prince; and the president, considered the author of this massacre, was assassinated. The situation in the country became such that United States troops were landed to restore order. On August 12, 1915, Sudré Dartiguenave was chosen president in an election supervised by American officials. But unrest continued. On September 16, 1915, the United States, under the provision of a treaty with the Haitian government, took over the administration of the customs and the finances of the country for a ten year period. At the same time a force of United States marines was stationed on the island to maintain order.

On June 12, 1918, after a plebiscite had approved it, a new constitution went into effect. But the following month a revolution broke out in protest against the American occupation. This revolution was suppressed by the United States forces.

THE END OF AMERICAN INTERVENTION. In 1922 President Dartiguenave was replaced by Luis Borno, an able executive who in 1927 was reelected. But his administration was not popular, and there were plots and revolutions against him. On December 4, 1929, a mob attacked the customs house at Port-au-Prince and other places. There followed clashes with the United States forces. On December 7, President Hoover sent to the island a commission of inquiry to survey the situation. This commission recommended that the Treaty of 1915 remain in effect until 1936; that the number of United States marines stationed on the island be reduced; that a national guard be organized to maintain public order; that the American military high commissioner be replaced by a civilian; and that new elections be held on the island to choose a chief executive.

PRESIDENT VINCENT. According to these recommendations, on May 15, Eugene Roy became temporary executive, followed on November 18, 1930, by Sténio Vincent regularly elected by the national assembly. The American occupation

of Haiti ended by an agreement between President Roosevelt and President Vincent signed on August 14, 1934. The Garde d'Haiti, trained by United States officers, took over the policing of the country. A fiscal representative, appointed by the president of Haiti on recommendation of the president of the United States, became the supervisor of the customs on behalf of foreign bondholders. As a part of the financial reconstruction of the republic, the National City Bank of New York sold to the Haitian government its local branch bank for one million dollars.

In 1935 President Vincent was reelected. The same year a trade agreement was signed between the United States and Haiti granting mutual concessions. In the early part of 1940 President Vincent publicly declared that he would retire after the expiration of his present term on May 15, 1941.

The Haitian economic problems resulting from the new European War are staggering, since most of the exports have always gone to Europe, particularly to France and Germany. Since 1930 the value of exports has fallen from \$15,000,000 to \$9,000,000.

SOCIAL, ECONOMIC, AND CULTURAL DEVELOPMENT. The population of Haiti is estimated at about 2,600,000, mostly Negroes. There are about three thousand white foreigners living in the Republic. The standards of living of most of the population are low and primitive.

During the French régime, the island produced sugar, coffee, and cotton in sufficient quantities to be exported to France. The general anarchy that followed the declaration of independence disorganized the economic activities of Haiti. Today, coffee and cotton are again produced and exported. Other products are cacao, tobacco, and logwood. Manufacturing has not been developed to any great degree.

There are about 158 miles of railroads and 800 miles of highways, mostly built during the American occupation.

In 1930 there were 1,190 public primary schools, with an enrolment of about 100,000 pupils. French is the official language, but a dialect, known as French Creole, is spoken by the majority of the people.

Among the principal writers the following may be mentioned: Éméric Bergeaud, novelist, Massillon Coïcon, writer on political matters; Frédéric Marcelin, essayist; Fernand Hibbert, novelist; Georges Sylvain, a very popular poet, critic, and jurist; and Dantès Bellegarde, who has produced some good historical studies.

The Dominican Republic Since 1844

EARLY PRESIDENTS. On November 6, 1844, the Dominican Republic was established as an independent country, with a constitution under which General Pedro Santana was elected first president. Constant unrest and numerous invasions from Haiti beset Santana's administration, and his despotism created many enemies for him.

In 1848 General Manuel Jiménez, Minister of War, was elected to succeed Santana. Meanwhile, war with Haiti broke out, and taking advantage of the situation, Santana caused Santiago Españlat to be elected to the presidency. But when the latter refused to take office, Colonel Buenaventura Báez was chosen chief executive.

Báez reorganized the army, opened schools, and endeavored to give the country an honest administration. In 1853 Santana was elected again, exiled former President Báez, and took measures against the clergy. The following year he had the constitution amended to provide for the election of a vice-president.

In 1856 General Regla Mota was elected president with the backing of Santana, but soon after his inauguration he resigned and General Báez was chosen to replace him. Santana antagonized the new president, accused him in the congress of having taken unconstitutional measures, and caused him to be overthrown in 1857. But the next president, General José Desiderio Valverde, also incurred the antagonism of Santana, who revolted against him and was made chief executive again in 1858.

THE SPANISH RULE. Between March 18, 1861, and May 3, 1865, Spain assumed control over the eastern section of the island of Hispaniola at the invitation of Santana. The latter was made governor and captain general, as well as Senator of

Spain and Marqués de Las Carreras In 1862, however, he resigned, disgusted with the preference given to Spaniards in government positions. Revolts occurred in several places. With the help of Haiti, war against the Spanish authorities broke out under the leadership of General J. A. Salcedo and Juan Pablo Duarte. As a result of pressure from the United States government, Spain decided to withdraw from Santo Domingo, and on May 3, 1865, the annexation was annulled by the Spanish Cortes. On February 27, 1865, a national convention at Santiago again declared the independence of the eastern section of the island, adopted the old republican constitution, and elected General Pedro A. Pimental president of the republic.

THE SECOND REPUBLIC. Pimental refused to move the capital from Santiago back to Santo Domingo, persecuted his enemies, and allowed corruption in the administration of public affairs. A revolution broke out, and the president was overthrown within a few months of his inauguration. His substitute, José María Cabral, a hero of the War of Restoration, did not last long in the presidency. Another revolution deposed him, and on December 8, 1865, General Báez again became chief executive.

The new president was unable to restore order in the country. The following year, a triumvirate, composed of Generals Gregorio Luperón, Pedro Antonio Pimental, and Federico de Jesús García, assumed the executive power. Then, José María Cabral was once more elected chief executive. But Santana revolted against him. In 1871 Báez, who was again in power, sent a commission to Washington for the purpose of making arrangements to have his country annexed to the United States. This scheme failed. In 1873 Báez was succeeded by Ignacio González.

Between 1882 and 1899 General Ulises Heureaux was president, suppressing numerous revolutions and plots against his rule. In 1899 he was assassinated and Juan Isidro Jiménez succeeded him to the presidency. Shortly afterward, he was deposed by General Horacio Vásquez.

THE UNITED STATES INTERVENTION. In 1905, during the administration of President Carlos F. Morales, the United States

took over, under the provision of a *modus vivendi*, the collection and administration of the customs of the republic in order to prevent trouble with foreign countries. The following year a treaty was signed between the two countries granting the United States a fifty year right to collect the custom duties in the republic.

There followed several presidents and revolutions. On August 27, 1914, a provisional government with Ramón Báez as executive was established under the United States protection. In the following elections, supervised by American officials, Juan Isidro Jiménez was elected. In 1915 American forces were sent to the Republic to aid in the maintenance of public order. But the president was nevertheless overthrown in April, 1916.

On November 29, 1916, the United States took over full control of the state and maintained a military government under the direction of the navy department. In 1919 no president or congress existed in Santo Domingo, but Rear Admiral Thomas Snowden of the United States Navy administered the affairs of the country. In 1922 J. B. Vicini Burgos was installed as provisional president. By 1924 the government of the republic was turned over completely to the local authorities. On March 19 of that year, Horacio Vásquez was elected president for four years. In September, the United States forces were withdrawn from the country.

THE DICTATORSHIP OF TRUJILLO. In 1927 a new constitution was adopted, the presidential term being changed to six years. In February, 1930, Vásquez was overthrown, and Rafael Estrella Ureña assumed the executive power. The same year General Rafael Leonidas Trujillo Molina was elected president. From then on until August, 1938, when he decided to retire, Trujillo ruled as absolute dictator. The vice-president, Dr. Jacinto B. Peynado, became chief executive when Trujillo retired. In 1936 the name of the capital was changed to Ciudad Trujillo, in honor of the president.

On March 7, 1940, President Peynado died and was replaced by Vice-President Manuel de Jesús Troncoso de la Concha. General Trujillo was again elected President on May 16, 1942.

The United States control of the Dominican customs was ended by a treaty signed between the two governments on September 24, 1940.

SOCIAL, ECONOMIC, AND CULTURAL DEVELOPMENT. The population of the Dominican Republic is estimated at about 1,500,000 people, who are mostly of mixed European and African blood. Standards of living are in general very low.

The country is very fertile, and about 15,500 acres of land are under cultivation. Agriculture and stock raising are the principal industries. Sugar, cacao, coffee, and tobacco are the chief products. Sugar production is about 500,000 short tons yearly. Coffee to the amount of about 8,000,000 kilos is exported every year.

The country has gold, copper, iron, salt, coal, and petroleum in small quantities, but the mining industry is still undeveloped. There are about 150 miles of railroads besides 255 miles of private lines on large estates.

In 1933 there were nearly 700 public primary schools in the republic, with 1,475 teachers and about 68,000 pupils. The University of Santo Domingo is one of the oldest in this hemisphere.

Many writers of merit have been born in the Dominican Republic. Among these the following may be mentioned: Félix María del Monte (1819-1899), a poet and intellectual leader; Javier Angulo Guridi (1816-1884), a writer of Indian legends in poetry and prose; Salomé Ureña (1850-1897), a poetess of great merit and founder of the first school for young ladies in Santo Domingo; José Joaquín Pérez (1845-1900), a poet; Francisco Gregorio Billini (1844-1898), a prose writer who portrayed local life; César Nicolás Pensón (1855-1902), an author of historical tales; Manuel de Jesús Galván (1834-1911), historical novelist and author of *Enriquillo*, a well-known novel of historical background; Federico Henríquez y Carvajal (b. 1848), a poet and dramatist; Américo Lugo (b. 1871), a literary critic and writer of short stories; Fabio Faillo (b. 1865), a popular poet and prose writer; Tulo M. Cestero (b. 1877), a modernist writer; Federico García Godoy, a historical novelist; and Pedro and Max Henríquez Ureña, both writers of great merit.

CUBA

At the time of the independence wars in Spanish America, Cuba remained loyal to Spain. In 1810 the island sent deputies to the Spanish Cortes, and two years later the Spanish constitution of that year was proclaimed throughout its territory. This, however, does not mean that the Spanish American revolutions for independence did not have some repercussions in the island. Secret societies were organized, and political independence was discussed at their sessions. A plot originating in a secret association called *Los Soles y Rayos de Bolívar* was discovered by the Spanish authorities and severely suppressed in 1826. The leaders of this plot (Francisco de Agüero and Andrés Manuel Sánchez) were tried and hanged as conspirators. They are today venerated in Cuba as precursors of the island's independence. Another conspiracy, known as *Conspiración del Aguila Negra*, and centering in the Mexican Masonic lodges, was also discovered and suppressed. At one time Simón Bolívar, the Liberator of northern South America, entertained the idea of sending an expedition to free the island from the Spanish domination. But this was never carried into effect owing in part to diplomatic pressure from the United States.

The island progressed, thanks in part to the patriotic activity of its citizens, who formed a *Sociedad Económica de Amigos del País* to promote public education and culture. In 1841 certain reforms were undertaken by the Spanish authorities, including the secularization of the University of Habana. In general, however, the Spanish rule was harsh and autocratic.

The Beginning of the Struggle for Independence. By the middle of the nineteenth century the Cuban people had decided that they could not put up with the Spanish régime any longer. The movement for independence on the island was backed and helped in many cases by American citizens. Many of the expeditions against the Spanish domination were outfitted in the United States. In this country many Cuban patriots persecuted by the Spanish authorities also took refuge.

The first serious effort to overthrow the Spanish régime in Cuba took place in 1849, when the Venezuelan general,

Narciso López, tried to bring about a revolution on the island. He failed and fled to the United States. Once in this country, he secured the help of many American friends and Cuban exiles and organized another expedition, which left New Orleans and landed in Cuba on May 19, 1850. But again he failed for lack of support from the inhabitants of the island and had to return to the continent. The following year another revolutionary outbreak took place led by Joaquín de Agüero, who, on July 4, proclaimed the independence of Cuba in Camagüey. But this revolution was suppressed by the Spanish authorities.

As the Spanish rule increased in harshness, the desire for independence among the Cubans also increased. On August 12, 1851, Narciso López made still another attempt to free the island. This time he fell into the hands of the Spanish authorities and was shot. A plot against the authorities led by Ramón Pintó, a distinguished Spanish educator of Liberal convictions, was discovered a little later. Pintó and other leaders were shot.

At this time, sentiment in favor of the annexation of Cuba developed in the United States. But the outbreak of the Civil War prevented any action being taken to that effect.

The Ten Years War. Despite the economic progress made on the island, dissatisfaction with the Spanish rule did not abate. On October 10, 1868, a revolution broke out in Yara, led by Carlos Manuel de Céspedes and known as *El Grito de Yara*. Céspedes was a lawyer of great prestige and wealth. He was joined by other patriots, including Francisco Vicente Aguilera, Máximo Gómez, and Vicente García. The revolution spread to many sections of the country. Help was received from the United States. In April, 1869, a popular assembly met in Guáimaro (Camagüey) and adopted a constitution providing for a republican government. Céspedes was elected first president. But the patriots were defeated in the Battle of Jimaguayú on May 11, 1873, and Ignacio Agramonte, one of their most capable leaders, was shot. An expedition organized in the United States and traveling on board the *Virginius* failed when the Spanish authorities boarded

the ship and arrested the revolutionists, took them to Cuba, and tried and shot many of them.

Meanwhile, the patriots were quarreling among themselves. Céspedes was replaced by Salvador Cisneros y Betancourt in 1873. Shortly afterward, Céspedes was killed by the Spaniards. Then General Vicente García refused to acknowledge the authority of the revolutionary government, and Cisneros y Betancourt resigned, his place being taken by Juan Bautista Spotorno, who in turn was replaced soon after by Tomás Estrada Palma.

At this time the Spanish government sent to the island General Arsenio Martínez Campo to restore order. He was able to negotiate with the rebels the Pact of Zanjón, on February 12, 1878, whereby they were permitted to return to their homes and occupations without further action against them from the Spanish authorities. A few patriots led by Antonio Maceo refused to recognize the Pact and continued to fight for independence. But they were compelled to leave the island, and peace was restored.

One year later, however, war broke out again because the reforms promised by the Spanish authorities were not carried into effect. The leader of the new revolution was General Ramón Blanco. He received help from the Cuban exiles in the United States, where Calixto García Iñíguez cooperated with the revolutionaries. But this uprising, known in Cuban history as the *Guerra Chiquita*, was quickly suppressed.

Spanish Reforms. As a result of all these uprisings on the island, the Spanish government made some reforms in the colonial government. In 1879 the right of representation in the Spanish Cortes at Madrid was granted to the Cuban people, and two years later the Spanish constitution was extended to the island. On October 7, 1886, slavery was abolished. In 1895 a Council of Administration was created to advise the government of Cuba, half of its members being Cubans. However, these reforms did not satisfy the inhabitants of the island.

The Revolution of 1895. The tyranny of Spain led many Cubans to emigrate to the United States. In New York City

a central committee was established, with branches in other parts of the United States, to promote the liberation of the island from Spanish control. The man who did more than anyone else to bring about this union of the Cuban patriots residing in the United States, was José María Martí, a writer of merit and one of the greatest poets of Latin America.

In 1895 a revolution was planned to break out at the same time in several parts of Cuba. In March of that year, General Máximo Gómez issued a manifesto inviting all Cubans to unit in war against the Spanish authorities. Several patriot expeditions landed on the island. In May, the revolutionary leaders issued a call for the election of representatives to meet in a constitutional convention. This assembly met in September and declared Cuba independent, adopted a provisional constitution, elected Salvador Cisneros y Betancourt president, and chose Máximo Gómez as commander of the patriot army.

The Spanish government sent to the island as governor, Valeriano Weyler y Nicolau, later known as the "Butcher," a harsh disciplinarian who endeavored to suppress the revolution by cruelty. He ordered all the rural population to concentrate in certain towns in order to be better guarded by the militia. This policy resulted in great misery for the population. In 1897 Weyler was replaced by a more conciliatory man, General Ramón Blanco y Arenas, who reformed the administration and established an autonomous government. This came too late, however. The revolution in Cuba involved Spain in war with the United States.

The Spanish-American War. Disturbances in Habana led to the request by the American consul that a United States war vessel be sent to that port to protect the lives of American citizens living in Cuba. On February 15, 1898, the *Maine*, which had been sent by the American government as requested, was blown up in the harbor of Habana by an explosion apparently from a mine. On April 19, the United States Congress recognized that the people of Cuba were and ought rightfully to be free and independent. The Spanish government interpreted this as a declaration of war, and on April 21,

a state of war was recognized as existing between the two countries

The Spanish fleet under the command of Admiral Cervera was defeated by the United States fleet under the command of Admiral Sampson. An American expedition landed on the island and captured the city of Santiago. Peace negotiations started soon after, and by August, a protocol containing the terms of peace was signed between the two belligerents. By the treaty of peace, signed in Paris on December 10, 1898, Spain renounced the sovereignty of Cuba. The government of the island was transferred to the American forces of occupation on January 1, 1899.

The United States Occupation. The American forces occupied Cuba, and a military government was established which restored peace throughout the island, helped the population, reorganized the public services, promoted public education, and undertook a census of the inhabitants.

In November, 1900, General Leonard Wood, the United States military governor, assembled a constituent convention at Habana which on February 21, 1901, adopted a constitution providing for the establishment of a republican government. On June 12, the provisions of the Platt Amendment were incorporated in the Cuban constitution. This authorized the United States to intervene in the island to guarantee its independence and ceded to the United States by lease Guantánamo Bay and Bahía Honda. Later the territory of the former lease was increased and Bahía Honda was relinquished by the United States.

Cuban Presidents Since 1902. On May 20, 1902, Tomás Estrada Palma, a Conservative, was inaugurated first president of the Republic of Cuba, and the American military governor turned over to him the administration of the island. In 1906 he was reelected. But a revolution broke out and the president resigned. The congress was unable to decide upon a new executive. General unrest resulted in the intervention of the United States. The government of the island was assumed on September 29, 1906, by William Howard Taft, who later was replaced by Charles E. Magoon. The latter undertook many reforms and spent the resources he found in the

treasury of the island. He called elections, and José Miguel Gómez was chosen president, being inaugurated on January 28, 1909. The American troops were withdrawn

The next president was the Conservative, Mario García Menocal, who was inaugurated on May 20, 1913. He attempted to eliminate graft from the government and reformed the finances. In 1916 a military revolt resulted in a new intervention by the United States. Menocal was reelected. In 1920 Alfredo Zayas, backed by the National League of Conservatives and Liberals, was chosen executive. His feeling against the United States caused the American government to send General Enoch Herbert Crowder to the island. He suggested several reforms to be undertaken by the Cuban government in order to prevent a new intervention by the United States. These reforms were undertaken by President Zayas.

In 1924 a revolution broke out against Zayas's reelection. General Gerardo Machado was elected with the backing of the Liberals. He was inaugurated on May 20, 1925. At this time the United States (March 13, 1925) definitely relinquished its claim to the Isle of Pines, and Cuba assumed sovereignty over the island.

President Machado's administration was beset by economic and financial crises. Rebellions led to strong repressive measures by the government. Machado asked the congress to extend his term by two years. In April, 1928, the term of the president was changed to six years, and Machado was reelected without apparent opposition for a term ending in 1935. Fears that Machado intended to rule as dictator, led to many uprisings and plots. On August 12, 1933, Machado was overthrown and fled the country. A period of disorder followed, during which several executives followed each other in rapid succession.

On June 12, 1934, a new constitution was adopted. Elections took place in January, 1936, and Dr. Miguel Mariano Gómez y Arias was elected president by a large majority. Amnesty was granted to all political prisoners and exiles, except those charged with terrorism. Social legislation of advanced character was adopted.

A new treaty was signed with the United States, superseding that of 1903, and the Platt Amendment was abrogated. Consequently, the American government abandoned the right to intervene in the island. This treaty was ratified by the United States Senate on May 31, 1936.

In December, 1936, President Gómez was impeached and removed from office by the congress, under the influence of Colonel Fulgencio Batista, an army sergeant whose sway in Cuban politics became all-powerful after the fall of Machado. Federico Laredo Bru, the vice-president, became chief executive with the backing of Batista.

President Batista. The next presidential elections, which should have taken place on February 28, 1940, were postponed until March 28, and later until July 14, on account of considerable political unrest in the country. Two Congresses claimed the right to represent the nation. One, regularly elected, was favorable to Colonel Batista's presidential candidacy; the other, a constituent assembly elected on November 15, 1939, to draft a new constitution for the nation, was led by former President Dr. Ramón Grau San Martín. Batista, candidate of the Socialist-Democratic Coalition, won in an election in which it is said about 70 per cent of the electorate cast their votes. President Fulgencio Batista was inaugurated on October 10, 1940.

The new constitution, approved on June 8, 1940, and put into effect on September 15, is a long and detailed document with 318 articles. It provides for a semi-parliamentary regime, the president to appoint a sort of prime minister who can be removed when he fails to obtain a vote of confidence in the chamber.

The relations between Cuba and the United States were somewhat strained in 1939 by the default on payments on Cuba's gold obligation public works bonds, and a new tax which affected particularly United States insurance companies. On the other hand, the suspension of sugar quotas on the part of the United States, hit the Cuban sugar industry very hard. Eventually, on December 27, 1939, a new recip-

rocal trade agreement was signed between the two countries restoring the sugar quotas system and relieving the situation.

Social, Economic, and Cultural Development. The population of Cuba was estimated at 3,988,160 in 1935, largely of mixed bloods. Standards of living are comparatively high. The island has always been primarily an agricultural country, although in recent years her mining resources have attracted considerable attention. The country is known to have great quantities of iron, copper, manganese, gold, mercury, zinc, lead, silver, and antimony. Coal, asphalt, asbestos, and petroleum are also produced in small quantities.

Cuba is favorably situated for stock and poultry raising and agriculture. The island exports twelve million pounds of honey yearly. Cotton, vegetables, fruits, cacao, and coffee are produced in great quantities. Sugar is the predominant crop. About one million acres are devoted to its cultivation. The production of sugar was considerably stimulated by high prices during the World War. After the war the low prices for this product brought ruin to many Cuban producers. Cuba exports most of her sugar crop to the United States. Tobacco is the second largest crop of the island. The 1934 crop was over forty-five million pounds.

There are a little over 3,000 miles of railroads on the island, besides 5,653 miles of private lines on the large plantations. Since 1925 the highways of the island have been improved constantly. A central highway was built through the length of the island. This road, finished in 1931, is over 700 miles long. The island is served by Pan American Air ways and several national air lines.

In 1933 there were over 3,800 public primary schools, with 7,600 teachers and an enrolment of some 300,000 pupils. Besides several professional and technical schools, the country has a national university, the University of Habana, founded in 1721. In 1930 it had an enrolment of about 6,000 students.

Cuba has produced many writers of merit. The following may be mentioned: José María Heredia (1803-1839), a poet of great inspiration who spent most of his life abroad and who

is the author of *Himno del Desterrado* and a poem about Niagara Falls, Juan Clemente Zenea (1832-1871), a poet and author of *Cantos de la Tarde* and *En Dias de Esclavitud*, the latter a collection of patriotic poems; José Martí (1853-1895), an inspired poet and essayist, Gertrudis Gómez de Avellaneda (1814-1873), a poetess, Enrique José Varona (b 1849), a journalist, Jesús Castellanos (1879-1912), a writer of short stories and a literary critic; Ramón de Palma y Romay (1812-1860), a teacher and dramatist as well as a poet, Carlos M Trelles, a historian and bibliographer of note, Dulce María Borrero de Luján, a recent poetess of great inspiration; Juan Marinello (b 1899), Jorge Mañach (b 1898), and Félix Lizaso (b 1891), literary critics

Cuban artists of note are: Miguel Melero, José Arbury Morell, Miguel Àngelo, Armando Menocal, Leopoldo Romañach, and Esteban Valderrama—all painters of merit

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CHAPTER TWENTY-TWO

THE FOREIGN RELATIONS OF THE LATIN AMERICAN STATES

In the present chapter the foreign relations of the Latin American countries will be studied under three main headings. Inter-Latin American Relations, Latin America and the United States; and Latin America and non-American Nations.

INTER-LATIN AMERICAN RELATIONS

Early Relations. From the beginning of the independence movement in Latin America, attempts were made to unite the Spanish colonies in their struggle against the mother country. Francisco de Miranda, a Venezuelan, suggested such a union about 1797. He founded in London a political society called *Gran Reunión Americana*, designed to coordinate efforts in favor of the liberation of the Spanish colonies of America. Many future leaders of the Spanish American independence movement, among them Bernardo O'Higgins, Simón Bolívar, and José de San Martín, belonged to this society.

The revolution of May, 1810, in Buenos Aires had a general continental purpose, and one of its leaders, Mariano Moreno, suggested the organization of a great La Plata state, including Brazil. In Chile, during the same year, a "Declaration of the Rights of the Chilean People" was published by Juan Martínez de Rozas, advocating a South American Union, and the following year Juan Egafía suggested the calling of a general Spanish American congress for self-defense and promotion.

In their struggle for independence, the South American patriots soon became convinced that they would have to expel all Spanish soldiers from the continent before their



Fig. 44. States of Southern Latin America (1937).

efforts could be successful. Bolivar's armies marched as far south as Bolivia; San Martín crossed the Andes into Chile and marched northwards to Peru. From Buenos Aires armies

were sent into Uruguay (Banda Oriental), Paraguay, and Bolivia (Upper Peru) In 1817 Argentina and Chile signed a treaty of alliance against Spain The idea of cooperation in the struggle against the Spanish domination was discussed by the two most prominent military leaders of the patriots, San Martín and Bolívar, in their interviews at Guayaquil in 1822 It is possible that they also discussed the establishment of a great Spanish American state, including all of the former Spanish colonies in the New World. This idea had already been discussed by others, including Pueyrredón in Argentina In 1821 Colombia had suggested the creation of a South American union, and the following year, in a treaty signed with Chile, a provision was included for the calling of a continental congress of all the former Spanish colonies

These efforts to consolidate the former Spanish colonies into one or two large states were not welcomed everywhere In Paraguay all attempts by the Buenos Aires government to induce the people of that province to join the United Provinces of the River Plate were a failure, and even resulted in the abrogation of the treaty of alliance between the two countries signed on October 12, 1811. In Uruguay, Artigas and his followers fought against the annexation of that province to Buenos Aires The Argentine troops of occupation were defeated in the Battle of Guayaebos (February 10, 1815) and compelled to evacuate Montevideo a few weeks later The repeated efforts of the Buenos Aires government to annex Bolivia (Upper Peru) also failed.

Bolívar in northern South America and Iturbide in Central America were more successful than the Buenos Aires leaders, but not for long The state of Great Colombia, the creation of Bolívar, including Venezuela, New Granada, and Ecuador, lasted only until 1830 Central America was united to the Mexican Empire of Iturbide from January 5, 1822, to June 24, 1823 The Peru-Bolivian Confederation established by General Santa Cruz in 1837 lasted only a little over a year. The Confederation of the Central American states lasted from 1823 to 1838

The Panama Congress of 1826. While a refugee in Jamaica during the wars of independence, Bolívar wrote on Sep-

tember 6, 1815, what has since been called his "prophetic letter," expressing the wish that some day in the future the representatives of the republics, kingdoms, and empires of America might meet in the Isthmus of Panama to discuss peace and war with the nations of other parts of the world. To this idea the Liberator devoted a good deal of attention during the following years. Finally, on December 7, 1824, while he was at the head of the Peruvian government, he sent invitations for such a congress to Colombia, Mexico, Central America, Brazil, and the United Provinces of the River Plate. At first, the United States of America was not invited. Later, however, at the suggestion of Mexico, Colombia, and Central America, the representatives of Mexico and Colombia at Washington verbally inquired of Henry Clay, the American Secretary of State, whether an invitation to the congress would be accepted.

In all, ten meetings of the congress were held (June 22 to July 15, 1826), with the attendance of representatives from Colombia, Central America, Peru, and Mexico. The Buenos Aires government did not accept the invitation and did not send representatives; Chile accepted, but did not send representatives; Brazil was not represented; and the representatives of the United States arrived too late to participate in the sessions of the congress. The delegates agreed that a congress should meet every two years at Tacubaya, Mexico, where the climate was more favorable than in Panama, and signed a treaty of union and of perpetual confederation and a convention providing for an army of sixty thousand troops, furnished proportionately from the several states, to be used for the defense and support of the union. Restriction of European expansion in the Western Hemisphere was discussed. Colombia was the only state that ratified the agreements of the congress.

Other Latin American Congresses. On March 13, 1831, the government of Mexico invited the other Latin American states to send delegates to a congress to meet either in Panama, Tacubaya, or Lima. The invitation was accepted by only a few of the states, and the congress was not held. The

Mexican government again issued invitations for a congress on December 18, 1838, August 6, 1839, and April 2, 1840. But nothing came of these efforts.

In 1844 Juan Bautista Alberdi, of Argentina, suggested the creation of a Latin American League of states to discuss and settle any disputes arising between those states and to promote their common interests. This idea was not carried out. Three years later, however, Bolivia, Chile, Ecuador, New Granada, and Peru decided to promote closer relations among themselves and met in a congress at Lima, Peru. Nineteen meetings were held from December 11, 1847, to March 1, 1848. Treaties of confederation, commerce, and navigation, as well as a postal treaty and a consular convention, were signed; but New Granada was the only state that ratified any of the agreements.

On September 15, 1856, delegates of Peru, Chile, and Ecuador met at Santiago, Chile, and signed a treaty known as The Continental Treaty, providing for the establishment of a "great American family" union. The other American states, except the United States of America, were invited to adhere to the treaty. No results of any value came of this move.

On November 14, 1864, at the invitation of the Peruvian government, delegates from Bolivia, Chile, Ecuador, Colombia, Guatemala, Peru, the Argentine Republic, and Venezuela met in Lima, to discuss plans to accomplish a Latin American union. But again, nothing of practical value came of the conference.

On September 3, 1880, the governments of Colombia and Chile signed a treaty of arbitration providing that in case of a dispute between the contracting parties, which could not be settled by direct negotiation, the question should be submitted to the arbitration of the President of the United States. On October 11, Colombia invited all the other Latin American states to send delegates to a congress to be held in Panama in September, 1881, for the purpose of securing the adherence of all to the agreement of September 3. Although most of

the American states accepted this invitation, the congress could not be held because of the War of the Pacific between Chile, Bolivia, and Peru

From August 25, 1888, to February 18, 1889, there met at Montevideo, Uruguay, a South American Jurists' Congress to discuss and negotiate treaties on matters of private international law. Thirty-five meetings took place, and treaties were signed on international law, civil law, commercial law, penal law, law of procedure, on literary and artistic property, and on trade marks and patents

The similarity of race, culture, languages, and customs of the several peoples of Latin America has also inspired many gatherings to promote closer social and cultural relations among these countries. Such meetings have taken place in Montevideo (1908), Buenos Aires (1910), Lima (1912), Mexico (1921 and 1930), and other cities. Buenos Aires has been an important center of this movement. A society, known as *Unión Latino-Americana*, was founded there in 1922. Periodicals, such as *Nosotros*, published in Buenos Aires and *Genio Latino*, published in Mexico, have been organs of this movement. At times antagonism to the United States has been expressed

Scientific cooperation in Latin America also resulted in a series of congresses, the first of which took place in Buenos Aires in 1898, with the attendance of delegates from Mexico, Guatemala, Honduras, Venezuela, Colombia, Ecuador, Peru, Bolivia, Chile, Brazil, Argentina, Paraguay, and Uruguay. Other congresses of this type were held at Montevideo (1901) and at Rio de Janeiro (1905). The fourth of the series, held at Santiago de Chile in 1908, became the First Pan American Scientific Congress, with the attendance of delegates from the United States.

In recent years several regional conferences have taken place. The Inter-American Conferences of the Caribbean were held at Habana, Cuba, in 1939, at Ciudad Trujillo, Dominican Republic, in 1940, and at Port-au-Prince, Haiti, in 1941. To the Third Conference the Mexican delegation offered a plan for an "Inter-American Union of the Caribbean." This project

was objected to on the ground that it would duplicate the work of the Pan American Union at Washington and result in still other regional groups. The word "Union" was eliminated from the project, which in its essence was referred to the several governments for consideration. To date nothing has been agreed in regard to the matter. Twelve countries, including the United States, have participated in these conferences.

The River Plate Regional Economic Conference was held at Montevideo, Uruguay, from January 27 to February 6, 1941. Delegates from Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Paraguay, and Uruguay attended the conference. Observers also attended from Peru, Chile, and the United States.

The purpose of this conference was to develop commerce among the participating nations in order to offset the heavy losses they had suffered through the wartime disruption of their commerce with Europe. A special convention was adopted providing that the signatory nations should renounce most-favored-nation treatment for themselves for a period of ten years. Other conventions provided for petroleum, and a regional parcel-post system. Nine conventions and seventeen resolutions were adopted. A permanent regional office of economic information and study was set in Buenos Aires to cooperate with the Pan American Union, the International Labor Office, and Economic and Financial Consultative Commissions in each of the participating countries.

The Attempted Union of Central America. After the disintegration of the Central American Confederation in 1838, several attempts were made to reestablish the union of the Central American nations. On March 17, 1842, El Salvador, Honduras, and Nicaragua sent delegates to Chinandega, in Nicaragua, to a congress which adopted a treaty providing for the establishment of a federation. The federal government was to consist of a council of four, one representative for each state, and one Supreme Delegate. A Supreme Court was to be selected by the legislatures of the states. By 1844, however, the federation came to an end, when Honduras and El Salvador attacked Nicaragua. On April 4, 1845, El Salvador and Guatemala signed a treaty agreeing to meet at a

congress to study methods for the maintenance of peace in their respective territories and to cooperate in foreign affairs. The other Central American countries were to be invited to adhere. But the plan did not work out. In 1847 a meeting at Nacaome, in Honduras, adopted resolutions to call a congress of representatives of El Salvador, Nicaragua, and Honduras to study plans for union. This attempt, however, also failed.

In November, 1849, the same three states signed a treaty of federation at León, Nicaragua, providing for cooperation in matters of defense and foreign affairs. In January, 1852, the delegates of the three states met at Tegucigalpa, selected a president, and a little later drafted a constitution. But Nicaragua and El Salvador refused to ratify the instrument of union.

A new attempt was made in 1862 by Nicaragua, with the cooperation of Honduras and El Salvador. But this attempt, like the previous one, was unsuccessful. In 1876, at the suggestion of President Justo Rufino Barrios of Guatemala, delegates from all of the five Central American states met at Guatemala City to consider projects for a new union. But war broke out between Guatemala and El Salvador, and the plan was given up. On February 28, 1885, President Barrios announced that he would become the commander of the troops of a Central American Confederation and asked the other states to send delegates to Guatemala City. But war ensued between Guatemala and the other states, and Barrios was killed. Other attempts were made in 1886 by Guatemala, and in 1889 by the congress meeting at San Salvador. But these attempts were also unsuccessful.

In 1895, Nicaragua, El Salvador, and Honduras sent representatives to Amapala and signed a treaty providing for the establishment of a joint commission to be in charge of the conduct of all relations between the three contracting parties and foreign countries. Plans were to be studied for the organization of the Greater Republic of Central America. But the whole scheme came to an end because the government in El Salvador was overthrown.

In 1907 José Santos Zelaya, of Nicaragua, attempted by force to unite the states of Central America into a confedera-

tion But the other states resisted, and Mexico and the United States intervened to restore peace Later in the same year, all of the Central American states were persuaded to send delegates to a conference which was held in Washington. Several treaties were signed at Washington, the most important of which provided for the maintenance of peace and the compulsory judicial settlement of all disputes, neutralized Honduras, and established a Central American Court of Justice The Court functioned until 1918

On January 19, 1921, the states of Guatemala, Honduras, El Salvador, and Costa Rica reached an agreement at San José for a union to be called the "Federation of Central America" Costa Rica a short while later rejected this pact A revolution in Guatemala upset the Central American equilibrium and by March 7, 1922, the union had been abandoned

Inter-Latin American Boundary Disputes and Settlements. The settlement of the boundaries between the various Latin American countries has been the cause of considerable dispute between the countries involved and has even led to war in several cases At the time of independence, no definite boundaries existed between the various Spanish colonies in America or between these and the Portuguese colony of Brazil. The patriot governments agreed to accept in principle the *uti possidetis* of 1810 in their future negotiations for the settlement of the boundaries of their respective territories But the interpretation of this provision was not always an easy one.

Argentina and Bolivia signed treaties on the matter of boundaries in 1868, 1889, and 1925. The latter treaty has not been ratified by Argentina. The line in Puna de Atacama remains undefined With Brazil, Argentina had a long controversy over the boundary in the Misiones region In 1889 the two countries signed a treaty providing for the arbitration of the question. On February 6, 1895, President Grover Cleveland issued his arbitral award, deciding in favor of the Brazilian claim Other sections of the boundary were defined under the provisions of treaties between the two countries signed in 1900, 1910, and 1927. Two difficult boundary

questions were peacefully settled by Argentina and Chile: the section in Los Andes was decided under the terms of the treaties of 1893, 1896, and 1898, the latter providing for the

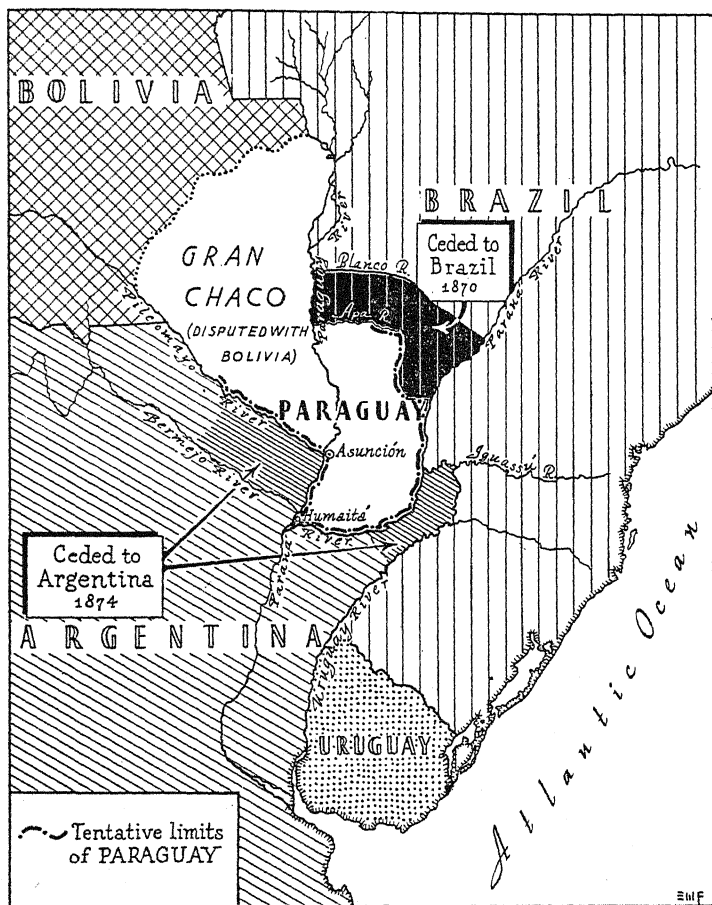


Fig. 45. Paraguayan cessions to Argentina and Brazil (1870-1874).

negotiations to be carried on in Buenos Aires with the co-operation of a commission of ten, or, if this did not prove satisfactory, of a commission of three, one for each of the two countries and the third to be the United States minister in Buenos Aires. The section in Patagonia was defined under the terms of several treaties signed in 1881, 1893, 1895, and 1896, the latter providing for the arbitration of the dispute.

King Edward VII issued the arbitral award in regard to the case on November 20, 1902. The dispute between Argentina and Paraguay was settled by treaties of 1856, 1865, and 1876, the latter providing for the arbitration of a certain section of the boundary. President Rutherford B. Hayes acted as arbitrator and on November 12, 1878, the award was issued in favor of Paraguay. With Uruguay, Argentina has had a long dispute over sovereignty in regard to the Island of Martín García. There is a treaty of unconditional arbitration between the two countries signed in 1899.

Bolivia and Brazil signed treaties of limits in 1867 and 1903, the latter providing for the cession by Bolivia to Brazil of the territory of Acre. To Chile, Bolivia relinquished the territory of Antofagasta under the terms of the treaties of 1895 and 1904. Bolivia has endeavored to secure the revision of the Treaty of 1904, so far without results. The dispute over the Chaco between Bolivia and Paraguay, although the subject of several treaties (1879 and 1887), was settled only in 1938, after years of negotiation and armed conflict. The boundary between Bolivia and Peru was the subject of treaties signed in 1826, 1831, 1847, 1886, and 1902. Under the latter treaty, a section of the boundary was submitted to the arbitration of the President of Argentina in 1904. The award, issued in 1909, was not well received in Bolivia, later the two countries decided to accept it.

Brazil and Colombia signed a boundary treaty in 1907, which was supplemented by another one signed in 1928. Brazil signed with Ecuador a treaty in 1904, defining the boundary between their respective territories in case they were to be adjacent to one another as a result of a settlement favorable to Ecuador of disputes with Colombia and Peru. With Paraguay, Brazil signed a treaty of limits in 1872. Brazil and Peru signed treaties of limits in 1851, 1874, 1904, and 1909. The boundary between Uruguay and Brazil was defined in the Treaty of 1851, as modified by the agreements of 1857 and 1909, the latter ceding to Uruguay joint rights of control over Lake Mirim and the Yagarón River. The boundary between Brazil and Venezuela was defined under the terms of treaties of 1852, 1859, 1905, and 1928.

The dispute between Chile and Peru over Tacna-Arica was finally settled by the Treaty of 1929. Ecuador and Colombia signed a treaty of limits in 1916 ending their long dispute over the boundary in the eastern section. Colombia also settled her dispute with Peru in 1922. A dispute arising from the occupation of Leticia by Peruvian civilians in 1932, was finally

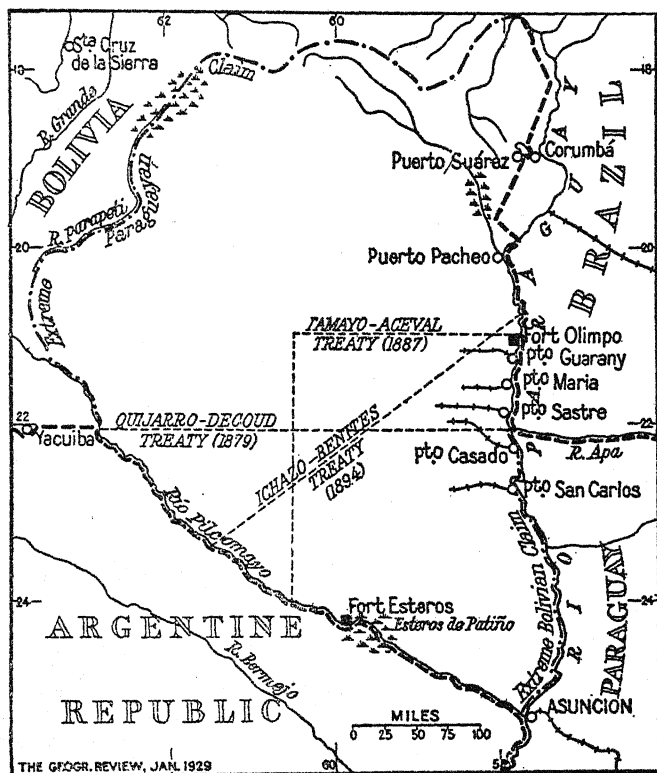


Fig. 46. The Paraguay-Bolivia Boundary Dispute. (Courtesy of Geographical Review published by The American Geographical Society of New York.)

settled by negotiation in 1934. Colombia and Venezuela signed treaties of limits in 1811, 1833, and 1845. Under the latter, the dispute over a section of the boundary was submitted to the arbitration of the Spanish crown. The decision was issued in 1891, and was accepted by both countries. Other treaties on the matter were signed in 1896, 1898, 1916, the latter providing for arbitration of the dispute over the

Arauca-Yávita region. This arbitration took place in 1922, the Swiss Federal Council being the arbitrator.

Ecuador and Peru signed boundary treaties in 1860, 1887, and 1890. In 1934 the two countries requested permission to send delegates to Washington to discuss the boundary ques-

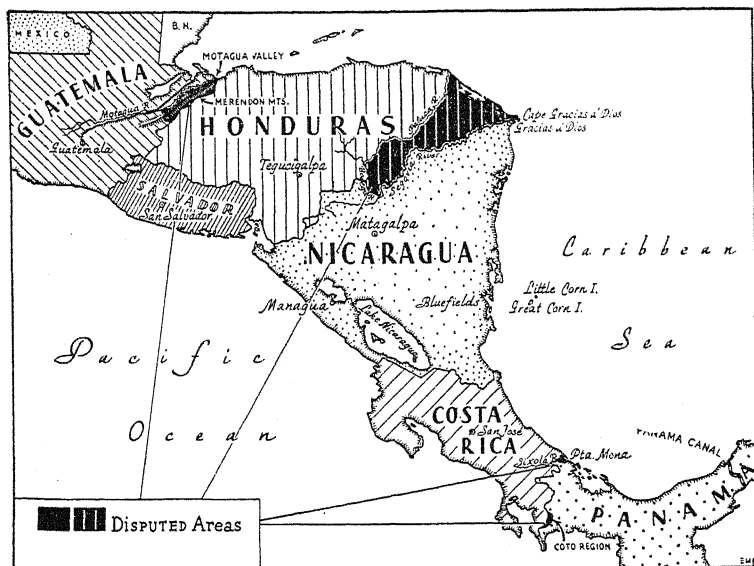


Fig. 47. Boundary disputes in Central America.

tion. In 1936 the two countries also signed a protocol, providing for the submission of their dispute to the arbitration of the President of the United States in case they could not reach a satisfactory agreement by direct negotiation. In the winter of 1940-1941 there were clashes between border patrols of the two countries. By midsummer these had developed into an undeclared war. Peruvian forces invaded, occupied, and administered territory long governed by Ecuador. The hostilities were suspended thanks to the efforts of Argentina, Brazil, and the United States. The settlement of the dispute was finally agreed upon during the Rio Conference of Foreign Ministers, a treaty being signed between Ecuador and Peru on January 29, 1942, under which Ecuador was to get about 80,000 square kilometers of land in the Suzumbio zone and Peru was to withdraw its troops from the occupied territory within fifteen days.

The Central American countries have submitted several of their boundary disputes to arbitration as follows: Honduras with Salvador in 1880; Costa Rica and Colombia in 1880, Costa Rica with Nicaragua in 1886 and 1896, Honduras and Salvador in 1886; Guatemala with Mexico in 1892; Honduras with Nicaragua in 1894; Honduras with Guatemala in 1895; Honduras with Salvador in 1895; Nicaragua with Honduras in 1904, and Costa Rica with Panama in 1910. The boundaries between Guatemala and Honduras, between Honduras and Nicaragua, and between Costa Rica and Panama remain unsettled.

LATIN AMERICA AND THE UNITED STATES

Early Relations. From the beginning of the independence movement in Latin America, favorable interest was shown by the government and citizens of the United States. President Madison, in 1811, adopted a policy of watchful waiting in regard to the Spanish colonies then at war with their mother country. Many citizens of the United States gave aid to Mexican and Venezuelan patriots and even joined in the war against Spain under the revolutionary flags of Mexico, Buenos Aires, New Granada, and Venezuela.

On the other hand, the Spanish American revolutionists early sought recognition by the United States, sending for that purpose numerous commissioners to this country. The United States also sent observers to Latin America. In 1810 the American government sent Robert K. Lowry as agent to Venezuela and Joel Roberts Poinsett to Buenos Aires. In 1817 Theodorick Bland, John Graham, Caesar Augustus Rodney, and Henry Mane Brackenridge were sent as special commissioners to South America.

At this time Henry Clay became the champion and advocate of the recognition by the United States of the independence of the new South American governments. Clay opposed in Congress the strict enforcement of the neutrality laws against the South American patriots and urged that diplomatic agents be sent to the independent governments of South America. On March 8, 1822, President Monroe recommended to Congress that the independence of the

former Spanish colonies be recognized On May 4, 1822, a bill was passed appropriating money for the purpose of sending representatives to those states As a result of this act, diplomatic agents were appointed to Colombia (1823), Argentina (1824), Chile (1824), Mexico (1825), Central America (1825), and Peru (1826) Recognition was extended also to New Granada (1832), Uruguay (1834), Venezuela (1835), Ecuador (1838), Bolivia (1848), and Paraguay (1852) To Brazil, the United States extended recognition in 1824, when an agent of that country was received by President Monroe

The Monroe Doctrine. The fundamental idea of the Monroe Doctrine was conceived in principle by statesmen of both North and South America before its declaration by Monroe In 1808 Thomas Jefferson, in a letter to Governor Claiborne of Orleans territory, affirmed that the interests of certain Spanish American countries were identical with those of the United States, and that they should "exclude all European influence from this hemisphere" Monroe crystallized the ideas of his time into fixed formulae to meet the situation as it then existed in Europe The original expression of the Monroe Doctrine was contained in the message of President Monroe to Congress on December 2, 1823 It comprised two statements The first of these was concerned with the prevention of further expansion of Russia on the northwest Pacific coast and was to proclaim "that the American continents, by the free and independent condition which they have assumed and maintain, are henceforth not to be considered as subjects for future colonization by any European powers"

The second statement concerned Latin America and was aimed at the Holy Alliance and its plans in respect to the Western Hemisphere "... We should consider any attempt on their part to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere as dangerous to our peace and safety With the existing colonies or dependencies of any European power we have not interfered and shall not interfere But with the governments who have declared their independence and maintained it, and whose independence we have, on great consideration and just principles, acknowledged, we could not view any interposition for the purpose of oppressing them, or con-

trolling in any other manner their destiny, by any European power in any other light than as the manifestation of an unfriendly disposition toward the United States "

Extensions of the Monroe Doctrine. The Monroe Doctrine has been variously interpreted and extended by the United States during the years that have followed its enunciation.

In 1825 Secretary of State Clay notified the French government that the United States would not consent to the occupation of Cuba and Puerto Rico "by any other European Power than Spain, under any contingency whatever "

During the Mexican war the government of Yucatan proclaimed its independence from Mexico and appealed to the United States and to England and Spain for annexation to one or the other of these powers. In 1848 President Polk suggested that in order to keep the territory from falling into foreign hands the United States should assume the burden of annexation. Nothing, however, was done about this suggestion.

In 1870 President Grant declared that "hereafter no territory on this continent shall be regarded as subject to transfer to a European Power," not even from one European power to another.

In 1880 President Hayes declared that the United States would not consent to see a canal built and controlled by any other power than the United States for the reason that "it would be a great ocean thoroughfare between the Atlantic and Pacific shores, and virtually a part of the coast line of the United States."

In 1895 Secretary of State Olney said: "To-day the United States is practically sovereign on this continent, and its fiat is law upon the subjects to which it confines its interposition."

In 1905 President Roosevelt negotiated a treaty with Santo Domingo, which was ratified in 1907, for the purpose of administering the customs of that country in order to pay the debts due to citizens of European states.

In 1912 Senator Henry Cabot Lodge drew up a resolution aimed at preventing the acquisition of a military base by Japan on Magdalena Island, asserting that "when any harbor or other place in the American continents is so situated that the occupation thereof for naval or military purposes might threaten the communication or the safety of the United States, the government of the United States could not see without grave concern the possession of such a harbor or other place by any corporation or association which has such relations to another government not American as to give that government practically power of control for naval or military purposes" The resolution was not accepted by President Taft

In 1913 President Wilson protested against the acquisition by a British concern of a large oil concession from the government of Colombia, carrying with it the right of the company to improve harbors and to dig canals

In 1927 President Coolidge gave other nations to understand that the United States would pursue a different policy north of Panama from that south of the Isthmus in regard to international obligations

A modification of the Monroe Doctrine to include as its guarantors all the independent nations of the Western Hemisphere, has been suggested at various times In 1920, Dr Baltazar Brum, President of Uruguay, suggested that all the states of the American continent should unite and agree to go to aid any of them if any should be attacked by a foreign power He further suggested the organization of an American League of Nations This latter proposal has also been made at various times by the governments of Latin American countries and projects embodying that idea have been presented to several Pan American conferences

Some of the principles of the Monroe Doctrine have been continentalized by the signing of the Convention for the Maintenance, Preservation, and Reestablishment of Peace, in 1936, at the Inter-American Conference for the Maintenance of Peace, held at Buenos Aires. This convention introduced the principle of consultation in the inter-American peace organization, providing for mutual consultation among

the American states with a view to arriving at a method of peaceful collaboration in the event of a war between American states; and in the event of a war outside America which may menace the peace of the American republics, consulta-

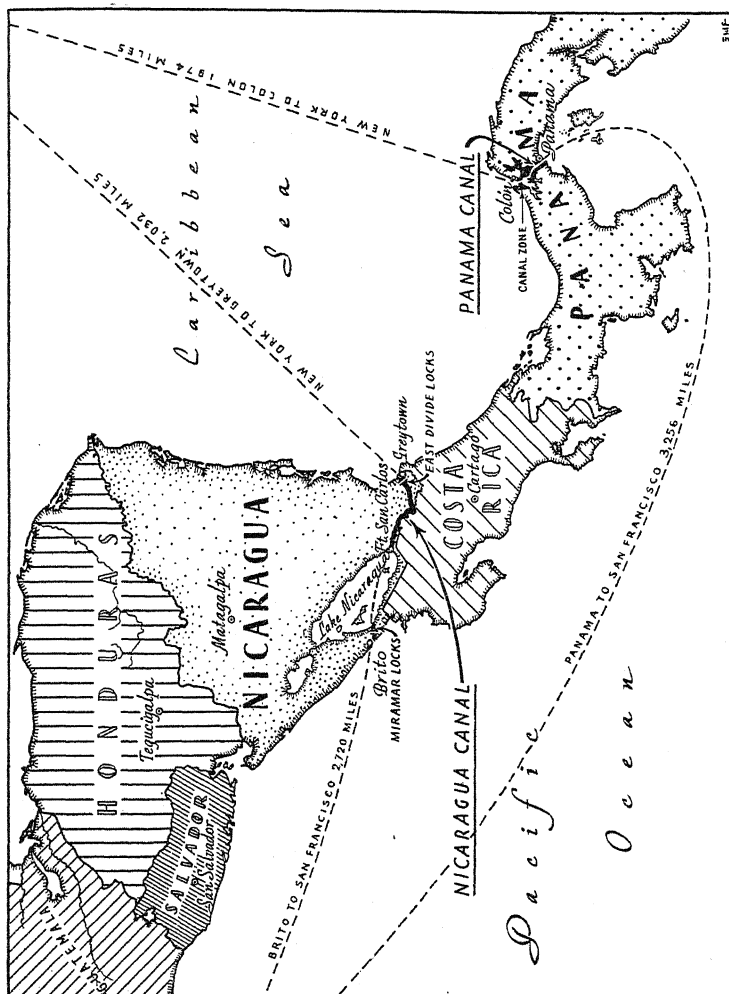


Fig. 48. The proposed Nicaraguan Canal and the Panama Canal compared.

tions shall also take place to determine what measures to adopt to preserve the peace of the continent. An additional protocol was signed, declaring inadmissible the intervention of any one of the nations in the internal or external affairs of

any other of the contracting parties. In August, 1938, President Franklin D. Roosevelt extended the Monroe Doctrine to include Canada, when he declared at Kingston, Ontario, that the United States would not stand idly by if domination of Canadian soil were threatened by any other nation.

The principles of the Buenos Aires Convention of 1936 were reaffirmed and broadened during the Lima Conference of 1938 by the adoption of a declaration (Declaration of Lima) whereby the American countries have agreed that any problem which involves the peace and security of any one of them will immediately become the problem of them all. Furthermore, they have pledged themselves to band together for the solution of future problems by consultation. When deemed advisable and at the initiative of any one of the American governments, the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the American nations will meet in their several capitals by rotation and without protocolary character to facilitate this consultation.

In accordance with the Lima Declaration (1938), the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the twenty-one American Republics met in conference at Panama from September 23 to October 3, 1939, to consider the consequences of the new European War on the Western Hemisphere. The most important resolution of the Panama meeting was the so-called "Panama Declaration," establishing a 300-mile neutrality zone intended to isolate the American Continent from war-like operations and to permit uninterrupted commerce between the several countries. An Inter-American Neutrality Committee—a continuing body consisting, when finally constituted, of seven members, one each from Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Costa Rica, Mexico, the United States, and Venezuela—was also set up to study and formulate recommendations with respect to the problems of neutrality. The Committee had its headquarters at Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, and its first meeting was held in that city on January 15, 1940.

The Panama meeting also created an Inter-American Financial and Economic Advisory Committee, which since November, 1939, has been sitting continuously at the Pan American Union in Washington. Composed of one representative from each American republic, the Committee was

established primarily to consider the financial and economic problems arising out of the war. This Committee negotiated a convention for an Inter-American Bank, which was signed on May 1, 1940, by an insufficient number of countries to enable the bank to be established. And the Committee prepared a plan fixing export quotas on coffee which was signed at Washington under the name of Inter-American Coffee Agreement, on November 28, 1940, between the United States and fourteen coffee-producing Latin American countries (Brazil, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, the Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Mexico, Nicaragua, Peru, and Venezuela). Later an Inter-American Coffee Board, with headquarters in Washington, was set up as an enforcing agency.

When, later on, events in Europe threatened to jeopardize the security of the American Continent, a second meeting of the Foreign Ministers of the American Republics was held at Habana, Cuba, from July 21 to 30, 1940. The Conference adopted a Declaration of Reciprocal Assistance and Cooperation for the Defense of the Nations of the Americas, which marked a considerable advance over the mere expression of common concern contained in the Lima Declaration of 1938. This Declaration did not create a true system of collective security, but it set up a legal framework for effective cooperation, authorizing bilateral or even unilateral action by the American states for the purpose of implementing the declaration, and thus avoided delay and other difficulties. Confronted with the possibility that changes in the political situation in Europe might result in the transfer of colonies in America from one European power to another, the representatives of the American republics declared that they would not recognize such transfers and agreed that if any were to take place they themselves would assume the administration of such colonies and possessions. For this purpose an Emergency Committee on the Administration of European Colonies and Possessions in America was created. In April, 1941, the United States established a protectorate over Greenland for the duration of the war, under an agreement with the Danish government-in-exile. In November of the same year it sent

a military expedition to Surinam (Dutch Guiana), for the purpose of protecting that colony's rich bauxite mines

As soon as the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor was known throughout the Americas, several nations declared war on Japan. Costa Rica did so even before the Congress of the United States recognized the existence of a state of war with Japan. By December 12, nine Latin American states had declared war on Japan, Germany, and Italy. They were: Costa Rica, Cuba, Dominican Republic, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Nicaragua, Panama, and El Salvador. Among the other Latin American nations, Mexico and Colombia severed diplomatic relations with the Axis powers, Argentina neither declared war nor severed relations, but declared that it would not regard the United States as a belligerent, and thus allowed the use of Argentine ports by United States warships, Peru froze Japanese funds.

In order to clarify the meaning of the Declaration of Reciprocal Assistance, on the recommendation of the Chilean and United States governments a meeting of the Foreign Ministers of the twenty-one nations was called. This meeting was held at Rio de Janeiro, January 15-28, 1942. The agenda included two major topics: the protection of the Western Hemisphere, and economic solidarity. A resolution offered by Colombia, Mexico, and Venezuela calling for the immediate severance of diplomatic relations with the Axis was finally adopted with modifications suggested by Argentina and Chile.

As adopted the resolution declared that the American republics, in accordance with the procedures established by their own laws and in conformity with the position and circumstances obtaining in each country in the existing continental conflict, recommended the breaking of their diplomatic relations with Japan, Germany, and Italy, since the first-mentioned state had attacked and the other two states had declared war on an American country.

Before the close of the meeting, this resolution had been made effective by nineteen of the twenty-one republics that had either declared war on or severed relations with the Axis.

Other resolutions of the meeting included the establishment of a Commission on Continental Defense at Washington, the adopting of a cooperative continental system designed to safeguard the economic structure of all the nations of this continent, the assurance of an adequate supply of basic and strategic materials to the countries of this continent according to plans formulated by the Inter-American Financial and Economic Advisory Committee, the maintenance of domestic economies by equality of access to inter-American commerce and raw materials, increased efficiency of national and inter-American transportation facilities; a conference of representatives of central banks for standardizing procedure connected with bank credits and other financial transactions of citizens of Axis powers, the industrialization of national raw materials, the elimination of espionage, sabotage, and subversive acts, an Inter-American Conference on the Coordination of Police and Judicial Measures being convened, the recommendation that steps be taken to restrict the operation or use of civil or commercial aircraft and the use of aviation facilities to citizens and enterprises of the American republics; the convening of an Inter-American Technical Economic Conference entrusted with the study of present and post-war economic problems, and the entrusting of the Inter-American Juridical Committee with the study of all matters relative to international organization in the juridical and political fields in the post-war period

The United States Imperialistic Policy Toward Latin America. About the middle of the nineteenth century sentiment developed among the people of the United States that they had a manifest right to expand over most of the North American continent and to control and guide the destinies of the other American nations This imperialistic attitude led to war with Mexico (1846-1848) as a result of the admission of Texas to the American union, to the acquisition of California and New Mexico under the terms of the Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo (1848); and to the Gadsden Purchase (1853). It also resulted in the Spanish-American War (1898), the annexation of Puerto Rico and the Philippines, and the imposition of the Platt Amendment on Cuba (1901); in the

recognition of the independence of Panama (1903) and the securing of full sovereign rights over the Panama Canal Zone; and in President Theodore Roosevelt's statements of 1903 and 1904 to the effect that "chronic wrong-doing, or an impotence which results in a general loosening of the ties of civilized society, may in America . . . force the United States . . . to the exercise of an international police power" It likewise led to the intervention of the United States in the Dominican Republic and the assumption of control over the customs houses of that country for the purpose of adjusting its obligations with foreign creditors (1904), to the occupation of Nicaragua in 1909, of Haiti in 1915, and of the Dominican Republic in 1916 to maintain public order, and to the intervention in Cuba and Central America on several occasions

This imperialistic attitude of the United States toward Latin America, known under various names such as "Manifest Destiny," "Elder Sister policy," "Big Stick policy," and "Dollar Diplomacy," created ill feeling and distrust toward this country in Latin America -

The Renewal of Good Will. During Theodore Roosevelt's second term a change in the attitude toward Latin America was noticeable in this country In 1906 Elihu Root, while still Secretary of State, visited South America and attended the Third Pan American Conference, held that year at Rio de Janeiro, Brazil He tried to convince Latin Americans that the United States was not interested in any further territorial expansion and wished the friendship of the other nations of this continent In 1912 Secretary Knox visited the Caribbean states The following year President Wilson, in a speech at a commercial convention held at Mobile, declared that his policy was to deal justly with the other American states and to promote constitutional liberty In 1913 treaties were signed by the United States with various Latin American countries providing for the creation of international commissions of investigation to help in the peaceful settlement of any disputes arising between the contracting parties In 1915 President Wilson also accepted the good offices of Argentina, Brazil, and Chile (ABC powers) in the dispute with Mexico.

This policy of good will was continued by succeeding administrations. With the inauguration of President Franklin D. Roosevelt it has become known as the "Good Neighbor Policy." In 1933 President Roosevelt declared at various times that the United States wished to act toward the other American nations as a good neighbor. At the Seventh Pan



Courtesy of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States.

Fig. 49. The Pan American Highway Project. This map outlines the general route of the Pan American Highway from the United States-Mexican border southward and is based on existing roads and on reconnaissance surveys. Because of the small scale of the map, most of the alternate routes as well as suggested ferry connections between Panama and South America are not shown.

American Conference, held in Montevideo in December, 1933, Secretary Cordell Hull emphasized this "Good Neighbor Policy" and declared further that "... no government need fear any intervention on the part of the United States under

the Roosevelt administration." President Roosevelt himself declared a few days later that "... the definite policy of the United States from now on is one opposed to armed intervention."

In pursuance of this policy, the Platt Amendment was abrogated in May, 1934; in August of the same year, the last marines were withdrawn from Haiti, and in March, 1936, a treaty was signed (not yet ratified by the United States Congress at the beginning of 1939) with Panama, whereby the United States surrendered its right to intervene in the internal affairs of that country and no longer guaranteed the independence of Panama. On January 30, 1936, President Roosevelt invited the other American nations to send delegates to a conference to consider joint responsibility and their common need in preventing armed conflicts and to further the cause of permanent peace in the Western Hemisphere

This Inter-American Peace Conference met at Buenos Aires from December 1 to 23, 1936. President Roosevelt attended the formal opening of the conference and addressed the delegates emphasizing once more the good will of the United States toward its neighboring nations. He also visited other Latin American nations en route to and from the conference.

As a consequence of these various moves, the relations between the United States and Latin America have become more friendly.

At the Eighth Pan American Conference, held at Lima in 1938, a certain antagonism toward the United States project of implementing continental solidarity was apparent. This, however, has not affected the friendly relations existing between the United States and Latin America as a whole. The new era of good will was reflected in Latin America in the changed attitude towards the United States on the part of leaders such as Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre, Luis Alberto Sánchez, and others. Haya de la Torre, leader of the Alianza Popular Revolucionaria Americana (APRA) and heretofore a declared enemy of the United States on the score of Yankee Imperialism, in 1941 publicly urged all Latin American liberals

to cooperate with the United States in the defense of democracy against totalitarianism.

As it became apparent during 1940 that the Western Hemisphere ~~might become involved in the new~~ European War, the United States adopted a more definite policy of friendly coöperation with Latin America with a view to preventing foreign intervention in the Americas Latin American Staff Chiefs toured the United States forts and arms plants at the invitation of the American General Staff, and the Export-Import Bank considered the lending to Latin American governments of some \$300,000,000 for armament. Informal negotiations for naval and air bases were conducted during 1940 in South America as well as in the Caribbean area, and a proposal was presented that all the bases thus established, as well as those secured from Great Britain by the United States, be opened to the military and naval forces of all the American republics. On September 7, 1940, it was officially announced that the government of the United States had made available all bases secured from Great Britain to the naval forces of Latin America

In pursuance of this policy the government of the United States has also consistently supported all existing Latin American governments against any revolutionary attempts from disgruntled elements

Several new government agencies have been created in the United States to promote and strengthen the economic and cultural relations with Latin America In August, 1940, a Coördinator of Cultural and Commercial Relations between the American Republics (later known as the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs) was appointed in the Council of National Defense. Several conferences were held at Washington under the auspices of the Division of Cultural Relations of the Department of State to consider ways and means of promoting cultural relations with Latin America.

In the realm of economics, a project was announced at Washington prior to the gathering of the Habana Conference of Foreign Ministers (1940) for the establishment of a Hemisphere Trade Cartel with a view to making the United States the clearing-house for all Western Hemisphere commerce

This plan was opposed by some of the Latin American governments and was dropped

Trade relations between the United States and Latin America as a whole have increased since the beginning of the war. In 1937 and 1938 the United States took about 31 per cent of Latin American aggregate exports. In 1940 this rose to 43.7 per cent, and during the first six months of 1941 to 54.3 per cent. The United States furnished about 35 per cent of total Latin American imports in 1938. But the percentage rose to 54.6 per cent in 1940 and to 60.5 per cent during the first six months of 1941.

Heavy American purchases in Latin America during 1941 resulted in a trade balance favorable to Latin America for the first time in many years. This balance was of \$106,000,000, and the net imports of gold and silver from Latin America by the United States amounted to \$112,903,000.

Pan Americanism. The Pan American movement, in counter-distinction to the inter-Latin American movement, aims at including the participation of all the independent states of the American continent in all forms of American cooperation. Before the first Pan American conference met in 1889, numerous suggestions were made for the establishment of closer relationships among all the American nations. Henry Clay, in 1820, outlined a plan for the organization of "a human freedom league in America." In 1824, upon being officially received by President Monroe, José Silvestre Rebello, the Brazilian envoy, suggested the organization of "a concert of American powers to sustain the general system of American independence." Stephen A. Douglas suggested, in the middle of the nineteenth century, "a general union for commercial purposes" to embrace "all the various political communities of the American continent and the adjacent islands." But it was James Gillespie Blaine, Secretary of State of the United States for the first time between March 4 and December 19, 1881, who was able to carry into effect this idea.

In July, 1881, Blaine and President Garfield came to the decision of calling a congress of the American states to convene at Washington. On November 29, 1881, the invitations were sent out. The aim of the congress was to seek "a way

of permanently averting the horrors of a cruel and bloody combat between countries, oftenmost of one blood and speech, or the even worse calamity of internal commotion and civil strife —." Before any answer could be received, however, Secretary Blaine was replaced by Frederick Theodore Frelinghuysen, and in August, 1882, the congress was canceled.

On May 24, 1888, however, a bill providing for a conference of American nations became law in the Congress of the United States. Invitations were sent out on July 13, 1888, by Secretary of State Thomas Francis Bayard. The congress was to take place at Washington in October, 1889, and among the questions to be treated were: the promotion of peace upon the continent; the formation of an American Customs union; the drawing up of a uniform system of customs regulations and a uniform system of weights and measures; the adoption of a common silver trade coin; and the formulation of a plan of arbitration.

In all, eighteen countries were represented. The congress met on October 2, 1889, and after a period of traveling throughout the United States, the delegates parted company on April 19, 1890. Many agreements were signed, but few ever received the ratification of more than a small percentage of the signatory governments. The most important achievement of the congress was the establishment at Washington, D. C., of the Bureau of American Republics, later known as the Pan American Union.

Other conferences have been held at the following places: Mexico City (1901-1902), Rio de Janeiro (1906), Buenos Aires (1910), Santiago, Chile (1923), Habana (1928), Montevideo (1933), and Lima (1938). At the Buenos Aires Conference, the Bureau of American Republics was reorganized. A convention on the reorganization of the Bureau, which was to be called Pan American Union, was referred to the following conferences and was signed at Habana in 1928. Many other resolutions and agreements have been adopted on such matters as the construction of an intercontinental railway; private, civil, and commercial international law; arbitration, conciliation, and good offices; cooperation for the protection of industry, agriculture, and commerce; patents, trademarks,

and copyright, arbitration of pecuniary claims; exchange of official, scientific, literary, and industrial publications; sanitary police regulations; promotion of the interchange of professors and students, simplification of passports and adoption of a standard form for them, arbitration of commercial disputes; uniformity of nomenclature for the classification of merchandise; and many other subjects

Between the main Pan American conferences (called International Conferences of American States), many other technical conferences have taken place to discuss commercial, industrial, scientific, agricultural, financial, judicial, sanitary, and other matters

The ninth Conference of the Inter-American States, to convene at Bogota, Colombia, in 1943, was postponed as a consequence of the war.

The following is a list of the general agreements for the peaceful settlement of disputes among the American republics and mutual defense: Treaty to Avoid or Prevent Conflicts Between the American States (Gondra Treaty) signed May 3, 1923; General Treaty of Inter-American Arbitration and Additional Protocol of Progressive Arbitration, signed January 5, 1929; General Convention of Inter-American Conciliation, signed January 5, 1929, Additional Protocol to the General Convention of Inter-American Conciliation, signed December 26, 1933, Anti-War Treaty of Non-Aggression and Conciliation, signed October 10, 1933; Convention for the Maintenance, Preservation, and Conciliation, signed October 10, 1933; Convention to Coordinate, Extend and Assure the Fulfillment of the Existing Treaties between the American States, signed December 23, 1936; Inter-American Treaty on Good Offices and Mediation, signed December 23, 1936; Treaty on the Prevention of Controversies, signed December 23, 1936; Declaration of the Principles of Solidarity of America, signed December 23, 1938; Declaration on Improvement of the Procedure of Consultation, signed December 24, 1938, Declaration of Reciprocal Assistance and Cooperation for the Defense of the Nations of the Americas, issued at the Habana Conference

of Ministers of Foreign Affairs, held in July, 1940; and the Declaration of Solidarity and Mutual Consultation of the Rio Conference of January, 1942

LATIN AMERICA AND NON-AMERICAN NATIONS

Relations With Great Britain. After her failure to hold the Plata region (1806-1808), Great Britain decided that she would rather have the friendship of Spain in the war against Napoleon than antagonize the Spanish Crown any more in America. It was not until after the Congress of Verona (1822), when the states of the Holy Alliance decided to aid Spain to regain her former colonies, that the British government felt inclined to recognize the independence of the Latin American nations. In 1823 Canning suggested to the representative of the United States that the two powers jointly protest against the transfer of the former Spanish colonies to any other European power. But the United States decided to act alone (Monroe Doctrine). By the end of the same year British consuls were appointed to the South American nations and finally, on December 14, 1824, the governments of Mexico and Colombia were recognized. The recognition of the other Latin American nations followed shortly

British trade with Latin America increased very rapidly after the independence of those nations. By 1823 it was nearly \$40,000,000. British investments in Latin America amounted to almost \$200,000,000 in 1830.

In 1826 England signed with Mexico an agreement recognizing British sovereignty over the territory of the River Wallis, or Beliza, and Río Hondo, in Central America. In 1831 a similar agreement was signed with Central America. By 1841 England claimed the right to exercise a protectorate over the Mosquito Indians, and in 1850 this territory was made exempt from the provision of the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty between the United States and England with respect to the non-fortification of the region. In 1856, because of diplomatic pressure from the United States, England agreed to withdraw her claims in regard to the Mosquito Indians. In 1859 boundary disputes between Britain and Guatemala were settled. The following year England and Nicaragua

signed a treaty recognizing Nicaraguan sovereignty over the territory of the Mosquito Indians. Later (1894), Nicaraguan troops invaded the Mosquito territory. England landed forces at Bluefields at the request of the Indians. United States marines also disembarked at Bluefields. On November 20, 1894, a convention was signed in which the Indians were incorporated with Nicaragua, and both the British and United States troops were to withdraw from the country.

A boundary dispute with Venezuela in regard to the Guiana region was settled by arbitration in 1899, thanks to the intervention of the United States. In 1902 Great Britain joined with Germany and Italy in an attempt to compel Venezuela to recognize the validity of certain claims held by the citizens of the allied nations. By virtue of the intervention of the United States, the Venezuelan government recognized the claims and agreed to arbitrate. In 1903 mixed commissions met at Caracas and decided upon the various claims.

Despite the World War and its aftermath, Great Britain has managed to maintain her economic position in Latin America. Her investments were nearly a billion pounds sterling in 1913 and £1,139,659,470 in 1925. She purchased almost 21 per cent of Latin America's exports in 1913 and about 18 per cent in 1925, while she furnished nearly 24 per cent of Latin America's imports in the former years and a little less than 18 per cent in the latter. Great Britain's Latin American trade was valued at \$897,000,000 in 1924. In 1929 and 1930 the British made a vigorous effort to increase their trade with Latin America. In 1933 their share of this trade increased from 14.9 per cent in 1929 to 18.1 per cent. Later, however, trade between Great Britain and Latin America consistently declined until Latin American purchases in Britain were only 10.5 per cent (about \$140,000,000) of their total value.

Among the Latin American countries, Argentina has consistently been the best customer for British manufactured goods, except during the period of the First World War and thereafter until about 1930, and again during the new Euro-

pean conflict. On the other hand the United Kingdom has remained dependent upon Argentina for nearly half of its consumption of fresh beef.

British investments in Argentina amounted to approximately two billion dollars before the second European War. Total British investments in Latin America were estimated at approximately five and a half billions of dollars.

Relations With Spain. Spain did not recognize the independence of her former colonies for several years. Mexico was recognized in 1836, Ecuador, in 1840, Chile, in 1844; Venezuela, in 1845, Bolivia, in 1847, Argentina, in 1858; Peru, in 1865, Paraguay, in 1880, Colombia, in 1881, Uruguay, in 1882, Costa Rica, in 1859; Nicaragua, in 1851; El Salvador, in 1865; Guatemala, in 1863, and Honduras, in 1894.

In 1864 war broke out between Spain and Peru over the refusal by the Peruvian government to recognize certain claims arising from alleged ill treatment of Spanish citizens in Peru. Ecuador, Bolivia, and Chile joined Peru in the war against Spain. In 1871 a truce was agreed upon between Spain and Peru through the mediation of the United States, and on August 14, 1879, a treaty of peace was signed at Paris.

Between March 18, 1861, and May 3, 1865, Spain held control over the eastern section of the Hispaniola island at the invitation of General Pedro Santana, Dictator of the Dominican Republic.

After the war between Spain and the United States (1898), Spain became desirous of increasing cultural relations with the Spanish-speaking countries of America. In Spanish America many intellectual leaders have also advocated closer cultural relations with Spain. Many clubs have accordingly been organized throughout Spain and Spanish America to foster these relations. An Ibero-American society was organized in Spain, which published a periodical called *Unión Ibero-Americana*. The exchange of professors and students has been carried to a great extent by special funds raised for that purpose. In 1914 and 1921 congresses of Spanish American history and geography were held, and in 1924 a Spanish-American university was opened at Seville.

There are to-day approximately 3,000,000 Spaniards in Latin America, Argentina having about 1,000,000, Cuba 600,000, and Mexico 500,000. Although many of these people are not in sympathy with the present régime in Spain, there are everywhere small and well-organized groups called *Falanges*, *Españolas* the purpose of which is to promote sympathy towards the Franco regime and, it is declared, to reconquer Spain's "spiritual empire" in Latin America. In some countries *Falanges* have been suppressed. On January 8, 1941, a *Consejo de Hispanidade* (Council of Hispanicism) was created by government decree in Madrid. The Council consisted of more than sixty charter members, including leaders of the *Falange* and Spanish diplomats in Latin America. Its main purpose was to promote Hispanicism in Latin America.

Hispanicism also appeared in Latin America under several names (*Hispanismo*, *Hispanicismo*, *Hispanidad*, *Falangismo*). Of all these, *Falangismo* laid strongest stress on political objectives, propaganda against the United States, and claim to Spanish hegemony in the Spanish-speaking countries of Latin America.

Relations With Other Countries. Early relations of Latin America with France were friendly and mostly of a cultural nature. In 1838, however, owing to the refusal of the Mexican government to recognize certain French claims, a French squadron bombarded Vera Cruz. The incident ended by the recognition of the French claims by the Mexican government.

In 1862 France joined Britain and Spain in the occupation of Vera Cruz, in Mexico, in an effort to force the Mexican government to recognize certain claims on the part of citizens of those countries. Soon afterward, it became apparent that the French had ulterior designs in regard to Mexico, and the Spanish and British forces withdrew. The French forces occupied a portion of the Mexican territory and carried out the plan of establishing an empire in Mexico under the protectorate of France. After the end of the Civil War, the United States government protested against the French occupation of Mexico and demanded the withdrawal of French

troops from Mexican soil. The French government complied with this demand and Maximilian's empire, without the support of the French troops, collapsed (1867).

French cultural influence in Latin America has remained extensive. An attempt has been made to promote closer relations between France and Latin America by emphasizing the common cultural background.

Latin American commercial relations with Germany became important only in the beginning of the present century. Just before the First World War, Germany had become the largest seller of manufactured goods to Latin America as a whole, and after the War it regained very rapidly an important place in the foreign trade of several Latin American nations.

In 1902 Germany joined with Great Britain and Italy in the attempt already mentioned to compel Venezuela to recognize certain claims of the citizens of those countries.

During the First World War, eight Latin American nations joined the Allies in declaring war against Germany, on the following dates: Brazil, on October 26, 1917; Costa Rica, on May 23, 1918; Cuba, on April 7, 1917; Guatemala, on April 23, 1918; Haiti, on July 13, 1918; Honduras, on July 19, 1918; Nicaragua, on March 8, 1918; and Panama, on April 7, 1917. Peru and Uruguay did not actually declare war, but they broke off diplomatic relations with Germany on October 6 and October 7, 1917, respectively. Bolivia, on April 13, 1917, the Dominican Republic, in July, 1917; and Ecuador, on December 7, 1917, also severed relations with Germany. Argentina, Chile, Colombia, Mexico, Paraguay, El Salvador, and Venezuela remained neutral.

Germany's total trade with Latin America was valued at \$420,000,000 in 1938, that is to say, about 13 per cent of total Latin American foreign trade.

In recent years Italy and Japan have endeavored with considerable success to promote trade relations with the various Latin American nations.

Latin America and the League of Nations. Because of their relations to the First World War, thirteen of the Latin American nations were entitled to participate in the Peace Con-

ference Of these, ten (Bolivia, Brazil, Cuba, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Nicaragua, Panama, Peru, and Uruguay) signed the peace treaty and became members of the League of Nations In a short time all of the other states became members of the League, excepting Mexico, Ecuador, and the Dominican Republic, although the latter country joined on September 29, 1934 In 1925, Costa Rica, and in 1926, Brazil gave the two years' notice of withdrawal from the League By 1929 all of the Latin American states, with the exception of Brazil, Ecuador, Costa Rica, and Mexico, belonged to the League. But Mexico entered in 1931 and Ecuador, in 1934 In 1937 Paraguay, offended at League action during the Chaco War, left that organization In 1936, Guatemala, Honduras, and Nicaragua gave formal notice of intention to withdraw, in 1937 El Salvador and on June 13, 1938, Chile made similar announcements. On July 18, 1938 Venezuela also gave formal notice of intention to withdraw.

Though a number of American disputes, such as the difficulties growing out of the War of the Pacific, the Panama-Costa Rica boundary dispute, and the Bolivia-Paraguay dispute over the Chaco, have been the subject of discussion by the League, that organization has refrained from intervening too much in purely American questions

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